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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1317

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN-ROMANIAN CULTURAL COOPERATION DISCUSSED

Bucharest CONTEMPORANUL in Romanian 6 Aug '76 pp 1-2

[Unattributed interview with Dr Laszlo Marczali, deputy minister of culture in the Hungarian People's Republic: "Fruitful Collaboration"]

[Text] In the desire to describe to our readers the current stage of the cultural collaboration between the Romanian Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, we requested an interview with Comrade Dr Laszlo Marczali, deputy minister of culture in the Hungarian People's Republic.

[Question] You are the chairman of the Hungarian party to the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission for Cultural Collaboration. In this capacity, how do you judge the commission's role in the development of the cultural collaboration between the two countries?

[Answer] The Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission for Cultural Collaboration was established on 18 February 1972. Its purpose is the coordination of the cultural relations between the two countries, the strengthening of them, and the raising of the efficiency of the collaboration in the field of culture, art and education in the interest of strengthening the friendship between the Romanian and Hungarian peoples. The commission systematically analyzes the collaboration in the various fields and forwards its findings and proposals to the competent bodies in the two countries. Since its founding, the commission has met in four sessions, alternately in Budapest and Bucharest. On the agenda of the sessions held up to now there were: collaboration in the publishing field, in the field of newspaper and magazine distribution and of the trade in books and cultural assets, and in the field of exchanges of major ensembles and exhibitions; collaboration in the field of the theater, music and mass cultural activity; the organizing of Romanian Cultural Days in Hungary and of Hungarian Culture Days in Romania; collaboration between universities, in the field of scientific research; and the matter of cultivation of common progressive traditions.

As follows even from this simple enumeration, the commission has concerned itself in a relatively short period of time with many important fields of collaboration, has established concrete measures, has made recommendations to the competent bodies along the line of developing the collaboration, and has systematically sought to materialize these recommendations. In my opinion, the recommendations have proved to be openers of prospects. In part, they have been applied or are in the course of application, and their more consistent, fuller implementation could contribute even more to the development of the cultural relations between the two countries. In conclusion, therefore, the commission, as a permanent forum for the development of cultural collaboration, is indubitably useful and I judge its activity positively.

[Question] The last session of the Joint Commission for Cultural Collaboration took place this year, in April, in Bucharest. What judgment do you give regarding the proceedings of this session?

[Answer] At the session in April of this year, according to the practice thus far, on the agenda there were two subjects: the plan for exchanges of major ensembles and exhibitions in the 1976-1980 period--including collaboration along the line of artistic booking--and the cultivation of the traditions of the struggle for the social and national progress of the Hungarian and Romanian peoples.

The commission examined both matters in depth and made useful recommendations. We drew up the five-year plan concerning the presentation of the major ensembles and exhibitions. These things reflect our mutual efforts to present the cultural achievements of the two countries in a multilateral way and at a high artistic and ideational level. Our desire is that these artistic creations of a high aesthetic level contribute to deeper and deeper and more and more comprehensive knowledge of the life of the two neighboring peoples. The commission recommended greater variety in the collaboration between the artistic booking institutions, the popularization of the various tours, and the intensification of their reflection by the specialized criticism in the press and on radio and television.

In the course of talks conducted with regard to specific anniversaries, there arose the necessity of regulating the problems connected with the joint cultivation of the progressive traditions of the common past. In this direction we are guided by the principles of the collaboration between our countries, established by our party and state leaderships. In this spirit the commission discussed this extremely important matter, coming to an agreement on the ways in which such joint anniversaries will have to be organized in the future. The agreement on fundamentals thus exists, both parties considering important the matter of cultivation of common traditions. Our task now is to demonstrate our agreement on fundamentals by means of the concrete aspects of practical collaboration, since only by means of the work actually performed will we be able to establish if in fact the commission has operated effectively.

[Question] Please be so kind as to inform Romanian public opinion about the steps taken by the Hungarian party to intensify the cultural relations with Romania.

[Answer] As far as we are concerned, we accord extremely great importance to Hungarian-Romanian cultural relations and have done everything thus far to continually develop them. In this effort, in my opinion, a special role is played by the activity of the joint commission, which, in the 4 and 1/2 years of existence, has performed useful work, making its contribution to the thorough examination of the collaboration in the various fields and providing a permanent link between the cultural guidance bodies in the two countries.

In my opinion, both sections of the joint commission will have to perform consistent, basic, practical work in the future, so that the cultural collaboration between the two countries is developed, to the desired degree, in correspondence with the mutual interests. For the development of Romanian-Hungarian friendship we have further tasks in the field of growth in publishing activity and of exchanges of books and publications in the interest of cultivating the native culture of the nationalities that live in our countries, must take further steps in the field of collaboration between theaters and in the field of music, and must provide for the exchange of creations of a high artistic and ideational level in all fields. We must find in the cultural collaboration those elements that unite us with one another and we must not permit our relations to be disturbed by reactionary phenomena. In this spirit the Hungarian party has performed its activity thus far, and in the same spirit it will also operate in the future.

Summing up the things said: the practice thus far of the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission for Cultural Collaboration allows us to state that the cultivation of the many common elements of our history, the cultivation of our common progressive traditions, and the molding of the socialist future are legislated as an organic process of our cultural activity that the cultural practice can apply efficiently only if our work is guided by principles generally accepted mutually and by mutual agreement. Between two socialist countries these principles exist: the problems must be discussed and solved in accordance with Marxist-Leninist ideology, in the spirit of socialist patriotism and of proletarian internationalism.

My conviction is that in this way the joint commission will contribute efficiently to the development of the cultural collaboration between our countries and will serve our great historical task, the construction of the developed socialist society and of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

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BULGARIA

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF MINISTERS MLADENOV AND VANCHEV

Sofia RADIO, TELEVIZIYA, ELEKTRONIKA in Bulgarian No 6, 1976 p 1

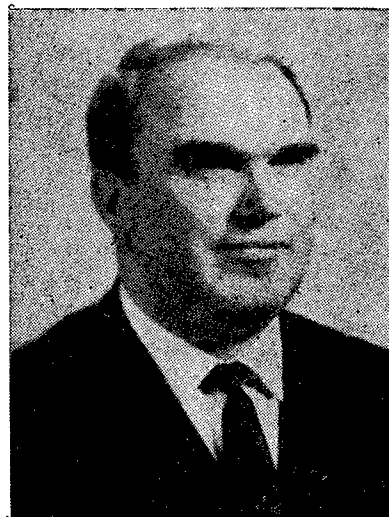
[Text] The first session of the Seventh National Assembly was held on 15 and 16 June 1976. A State Council and Council of Ministers were elected.

Comrade Yordan Mladenov was reappointed minister of electronics and electrical engineering.

The Ministry of Information and Communications was reorganized into Ministry of Communications. Comrade Pando Vanchev was elected minister of communications.



Engineer Yordan Mladenov



Engineer Pando Vanchev

Yordan Mladenov

Yordan Mladenov was born on 17 December 1925 in Kondofrey village, Pernik Okrug. He became acquainted with the ideas of communism in his adolescent years.

He graduated in radioengineering in Czechoslovakia in 1952. Following his return, for 10 years he worked at the Kliment Voroshilov Low Voltage Appliances Plant. It was here that the creative talent of the young engineer was displayed. Beginning his labor career as a designer, he became chief designer, plant director, and head of the Technical Development Base. Engineer Yordan Mladenov was also the responsible designer for the first Bulgarian television receiver Opera.

In 1963 he was appointed director of the Scientific Research Institute of Radioelectronics. Thanks to his perspicacity, new sections were developed in the institute to work on problems related to industrial radioelectronics. The development of thin layer microminiaturized equipment was undertaken.

Engineer Yordan Mladenov was appointed minister of electronics and electrical engineering as of the creation of the ministry. His name is linked with the birth and development of our radioelectronic industry. On repeated occasions he was awarded orders for great merits; in 1967 he was awarded the title Hero of Socialist Labor. He was elected Central Committee member at the 11th BCP Congress.

Pando Vanchev

Engineer Pando Vanchev was born on 6 October 1919 in Uzundchovo village, Khaskovo Okrug. As a high school student he was a member of the Agrarian Youth Union, and subsequently, as a student in Bratislava, he actively participated in the struggles waged by the progressive students and in the Slovak national uprising against the Hitlerite occupation forces. He has been recognized as an active fighter against fascism and capitalism.

In 1946 Comrade Pando Vanchev graduated in electronic engineering in Prague and worked for 2 years in Czechoslovakia. He began working for the Ministry of Electrification in 1948, and as a specialist he has made his contribution to the building of a number of major national projects. Subsequently he became oblast electrification director and participated most actively in the building of Dimitrovgrad. In 1956 he was elected deputy chairman of the Khaskovo Okrug people's council; he became its chairman in 1967. He is the recipient of a number of governmental awards.

Engineer Pando Vanchev has been a member of the administrative council of the BZNS as of 1962; in 1971 he became member of its standing committee.

He participated in the work of the Fifth National Assembly as people's representative from Khaskovo Okrug. In the Sixth National Assembly he was elected member of the State Council; the Seventh National Assembly entrusted him with the responsible position of minister of communications of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

We wish comrades Yordan Mladenov and Pando Vanchev fruitful work in the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

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## EAST GERMANY

### SEPTEMBER 1976 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Sep 76 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 9, Sep 76, signed to press 9 Aug 76 pp 961-1072. Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the seven authors referred to below and by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Elections in the GDR are of high political significance. They are the people's voluntary decisions on the basic issues of the policy of their state." This is the conclusion arrived at by Friedrich Ebert, member of the SED Central Committee's Politburo, in an article for the September issue of EINHEIT. Good preparation and successful implementation of the 17 October elections requires, he says, linking them most closely with a convincing presentation of the basic values of our real socialist democracy. This is "a task of primary importance for the political-ideological work of our party in the election movement."

In a further contribution, Richard Gothe [chairman, Erfurt Bezirk Council] deals with the important tasks of our people's representatives for implementing the policy of the Ninth SED Congress. Among other things, the author reports on numerous good experiences from the practical work of the deputies.

Gerhard Grueneberg, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, outlines in an interview how the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress are being implemented in agriculture and the food industry. Grueneberg stresses particularly the special importance of intensification which is not a temporary measure but one that, even in agriculture, has a long-range, dynamic effect.

Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee's Politburo, outlines in a fundamental article the main directions of the further perfection of the material-technical base up to 1980.

Finally EINHEIT deals with the relationship of democracy and freedom under socialism (Wolfgang Eichhorn I) [professor, GDR Academy of Sciences]; the results of the Berlin Conference [of European Communist and Workers Parties] (Bruno Mahlow) [deputy department chief in SED Central Committee]; the interlacing of general and cyclical crises (Otto Reinhold) [director, SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences]; and other topical problems.

## EAST GERMANY

### SIGNIFICANCE OF LEGISLATIVE ELECTION PROCESS DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 9, Sep 76 signed to press 9 Aug 76  
pp 971-977

[Article by Friedrich Ebert, member of SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of GDR Council of State, deputy president of People's Chamber Presidium: "Our Elections--Expression of Vibrant Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The preparation of the elections to the top people's representation of the GDR and to the bezirk legislatures is the first important segment in the implementation of the program targets of the Ninth SED Congress. To explain those decisions convincingly to the citizens and to further their conscious and creative initiative all around defines the main content of the election movement. The author explains the tasks and consequences arising for the people's representations, the elected power organs, from an increasingly more comprehensive and expert participation by the working people in management and planning. The new election law is described as expressing the degree of maturity of our socialist democracy.

A new and important climactic event in the political and social life of our republic is being prepared in these weeks and months. More than 12 million citizens of our state will come to the voting booths on 17 October to elect the 500 deputies of the top people's representation of the GDR -- the People's Chamber -- and the more than 2800 deputies of the bezirk legislatures.

It is part of everyday life and among the most obvious advantages of our socialist democracy that not only on election day but every day the working people are involved in government business, true to the constitutional principle which says "Collaborate and help plan and govern!" Practical co-determination and coshaping of social development and government activity are, to the mass of our citizens, an element of their socialist world-view they are taking for granted, an element of the relations that connect them with their state.

While this is patently so, what yet stands out from the innumerable and varied democratic activities in which the citizens are involved, in the shaping of the developed socialist society, is the preparation and implementation of the elections to the people's representations. Voting decisions are important decisions made by the citizens. Through free and direct voters' decision the people's representations are chosen, the highest organs of GDR state power, of the socialist state of workers and farmers, representing, as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the interests of all the people in our republic. The freedom of the working people, the rule by the working people under the leadership of the working class, are reflected in the election process by the fact that the citizens, after thoroughly testing and selecting the candidates, elect their power organs in a democratic way, sending that way deputies into the people's representations who through their mandate in authority embody the sovereignty of the working people.

Elections have a high political place value in the GDR. They are decisions of the will of the people on the basic problems of its government policy. They form the power organs that implement this policy in its entirety -- not last, with the help of the laws and other legal norms.

From this also derives the main content, the priority target of this year's election movement: to explain to the citizens the policy of the Ninth Party Congress and to further their initiative and willingness for implementing its decisions all around. This is done in many ways but mainly through direct talks with the voters. It has been found useful to connect the submitting of accounts by the deputies with the introduction of candidates. The meetings between candidates and their voters have to be arranged through a variety of events, close-to-life and with regard to nuances, in work collectives and housing communities, with women, youths and selected persons voting for the first time, with craftsmen, tradesmen and through meetings with the parties and mass organizations. Yet not the number of events held is decisive; decisive is the frank and candid discussion of the Ninth Party Congress documents with millions of voters.

Elections to the people's representations serve strengthening socialist state power and further developing socialist democracy, as the new election law says that was passed by the People's Chamber on 24 June 1976. This also explains that the implementation as well as the preparation of the elections is most closely connected with a convincing presentation of the basic values of real, socialist democracy, the superiority of the socialist order and of the democratic rights of its citizens, that is, with matters which now more than ever before stand in the center of the political and ideological struggle against the imperialist adversary. To produce total clarity on the unity of democracy and socialism among all working people, and on the creative capacity of men for shaping their social relations and the dictatorship of the proletariat is a task of primary importance for the political-ideological work of all members of our party in the election movement.

## Socialist Democracy in Action

The entire activity of the People's Chamber and of the bezirk legislatures as well as the concrete results of their work in the now ending election period were shaped by our Eighth Party Congress which through its decisions introduced a new period of development for our socialist state power. Thus it was bound to be that all accounting, orientation and initiatives in preparation of the 17 October 1976 elections were determined by the predominant political event this year, the Ninth SED Congress, which undertook a comprehensive accounting of the fulfillment of the Eighth Party Congress decisions and, toward continuing that well proven course, decided on tasks that are reaching far into the future.

Preparing popular elections thus means for our political work, first and foremost, convincing explanation and practical application of the party resolutions in all public and government domains. Election preparation is the thus far most important and comprehensive political demand since the Ninth Party Congress, the first important segment in the implementation of its program goals.

That entirely accords with the principle vested in the constitution and now also in the new election law, which always has been practiced properly in our republic, to the effect that election preparation goes together with popular democratic exchange on the questions of basic policy. Such popular interchange helps better understand the targets posed by the Party Congress and the means for realizing them, think them through more thoroughly, reflect more deeply on their interconnections and draw the concrete conclusions from it all for new initiatives and actions for the good of the whole and of each individual.

A further exploitation in the election movement of the party congress documents requires attending to all the great subjects brought up at this highest forum with the working class and the entire people. Let us mention only a few of the most important subjects: The steady strengthening of our unshakeable fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community; the further development of the results achieved in the policy of peaceful co-existence, the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and in the whole world; the inseparable connection in our policy between proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism; the consistent continuation of the unity of economic and social policy on behalf of the realization of the main task; the enforcement of intensification of social production as the main road of the further systematic and dynamic growth of the productive forces; the all round strengthening of socialist state power including the improvement in our defense capability and the more and more comprehensive involvement of the popular masses in the exercise of power.

A central place in the political preparations of the elections is given over to the questions of the further strengthening of our workers and farmers state and of the development of socialist democracy. We shall shape further the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus create basic preconditions

for the gradual transition to communism. In proceeding from our own experiences in our development thus far and from the teachings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism we know that mature socialism, as Marx has shown, requires a higher type organization of the producers and their management, requires an optimal harmony in the combination between overall social central management and planning and the full unfolding of the working people's creative initiative which will bring out the advantages in the socialist organization of society everywhere.

The further improvement in the quality and efficacy of the management activity by the socialist state, which is the main instrument in the hands of the working people led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, thus is an indispensable prerequisite for reaching the sociopolitical goals posed by the Party Congress. The main trend here will have to be the further unfolding of socialist democracy because it is ultimately that which the working class and its allies does in full awareness of the process of history, that which fully responds to objective requirements, which constitutes the strength of the socialist state and its superiority to all systems marked by imperialist exploitation.

Proceeding from the Marxist-Leninist theory of state, we find in the further unfolding of socialist democracy a universal inevitability within the development of socialist society. The successful development of our state power and of its manner of relating to the citizens has eloquently testified to that for over 25 years. The further unfolding of socialist democracy and the practical shaping and comprehensive realization of the political, economic and social basic rights of the citizens are an essential component of the formation of the developed socialist society. It embodies the creative essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the release of the creative forces and initiatives of all members of socialist society, and their conscious and constructive participation in the direction of government and planning of the economy, that is, in the fulfillment of overall social tasks.

As nothing happens for its own sake in our country, socialist democracy itself is no end in itself, nor does it, phoenix-like, rise out of the ashes. The very successful years of our development, especially since the Eighth Party Congress, provide us with the experience, which has also become the maxim of future labor policy in the Ninth Party Congress decisions, that the unity of economic and social policy has, as our general party line, proven itself as a powerful impulse and impetus for the democratic-creative aspirations of millions of working people.

The tasks and measures for further improving the material and cultural standard of living of the people on the basis of a high speed of development in socialist production, increased efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth of labor productivity are clearly delineated in the directive issued by the Party Congress on GDR economic development for from 1976 to 1980 and in the other documents, providing a summary expression of the basic interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all other working people.



The fundamental requirement of the election movement lies in combining the all round agreement the working people show for this party policy with their willingness for increased performance, with high economic rise in performance through consistently continuing with socialist intensification, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the purposeful improvement in the efficacy and quality of production and high growth rates in labor productivity. The basic party organizations are going to make use of the vibrant atmosphere of the election movement for obtaining, pursuant to the targets posed by the Party Congress, a broad upsurge of socialist mass competition for the all round fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the planning tasks and counter-plan goals under the proven slogan of "A greater use value out of every Mark, every hour of labor time, every gram of material!" whereby to involve the working people directly in the management and planning of production. We shall make sound and successful election preparations if we succeed in generally encouraging, and in developing on a high level, the conscious aspirations by all working people after high economic achievements and their working in accordance with personal and collective-creative plans on behalf of increasing labor productivity.

All this also makes clear: Neither today nor in the weeks and months after the elections will socialist democracy be confined to the field of direct government activity. Socialist democracy follows from the nature of the political organization of our socialist society as a whole and from the activities of its guiding and directing force, the party of the working class. The leadership role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party is the guarantee and initiating factor of a smoothly flowing unfolding of socialist democracy because it finds its principle in the interests of the working masses and can be realized only on the basis of ever broader mass activities. That is why the democratic preparation given by the Ninth Party Congress and its documents, democratic conversations engaged in by the millions and the exchange of ideas between the communists and the workers, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all other working people in town and countryside about our party's program target ideas are the starting point and example for the work in preparation and implementation of the elections.

#### Further Improving the Efficacy of the People's Representations

On 17 October the workers, cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and the other working people will elect their best representatives deputies for the People's Chamber and the bezirk legislatures. The new people's representations will have to fulfill extraordinarily important and responsible tasks in implementation of the Ninth Party Congress resolutions. It conforms with the nature of socialist representative bodies in the Marxist sense that already when they are being formed there are public discussions, with decisions to come from the elections thereafter, about the basic direction of their future activities and about important aspects of the solidarity their methods must show while they are working with the people. That also guarantees that the will of the voters becomes the supreme precept in the deputies' activities.

Our newly to be elected people's representations, the People's Chamber and the bezirk legislatures, can build on solid foundations in this regard. The General Secretary of the SED Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, pointed out at the Ninth Party Congress that we have made good headway in enhancing the authority of the people's representations, the elected power organs expressing the will of the people on all levels. The vividness and radiation of democracy in the socialist state decisively depend on how effective they become in all forms of the activities of the people's representations and their deputies which directly connect with the work and life of the citizens. Sound foundations have been laid for that by the laws the People's Chamber has passed and the decisions the bezirk legislatures have taken in the election period that has now ended. One may only refer here to the law on supplementing and amending the GDR Constitution, passed on 7 October 1974, the law on the GDR Council of Ministers, and the law on the local people's representations and their organs, by which far-reaching possibilities have been created for enhancing the political activities by the people's representations, long-range and scientific bases for their activities and close cooperation between deputies and the citizens.

In the submission of accounts by the councils before the bezirk legislatures, the accounting given, the propositions introduced and the various discussions between the deputies and candidates with the voters, the point will always be to explain the achievements and successful balance sheets on the activities by the people's representations in promoting the political and economic development of the republic and in any given bezirk and fully to exploit, through trustworthy conversations with the citizens, all possibilities granted by the laws and the constantly growing willingness on the part of the people for the participation in the solution of state tasks. That alone will multiply the strength and effectiveness of the people's representations.

Vast indeed is the set of fundamental problems in improving the democratic efficacy of the people's representations and their deputies that should enter the discussions with the voters. It involves the further improvement in quality and concreteness of the sessions of the people's representations and the decisions taken in them. The Ninth Party Congress documents must be our guideline for plainly and prudently explaining, and for intelligibly formulating, for the benefit of all citizens, the tasks and frequently complicated problems and interconnections in the development of the bezirks, kreises and towns. More penetrating insights by the citizens into these interconnections are a decisive basis for furthering prudent ideas for applying the measures and decisions of the people's representations and mobilizing the citizens' initiatives toward their implementation. All the sooner shall we reach a vibrant and critical atmosphere within the people's representations, the more the deputies carry the citizens' proposals and criticisms into their sessions and come up with questions and problems, even such as do not directly belong on any prepared agenda.

One should also, in line with comprehensive discussions among voters, deputies and candidates, and in close cooperation with the National Front committees,

create still other starting points for the future deputies' smoothly flowing political work in their election districts. Further reinforcement of steady and vital contacts with the citizens in the residential areas is an indispensable requirement for sound and good deputy activities. The deputies and candidates for the bezirk legislatures ought to make good use of the election movement for their people's representation in establishing preconditions for a well coordinated cooperation among the deputies of all people's representations in the election districts as well as with the National Front committees, social organizations and enterprises.

As the strength of our socialist democracy also lies in its penetrating all domains of public life, the election movement should be used for establishing still closer cooperation between state and other forms of socialist democracy. The people's representations and their deputies should, through this election movement, further develop their direct contacts with the trade unions, the enterprises, the cooperatives, institutions and work collectives and open up new methods of collaboration. Formal participation does not matter so much here; what matters is always to make the working people aware, in all that is done, that they themselves are the bearers of the real political power in socialism. From that vantage point, a stronger participation by the working people and their collectives in the submission of accounts and in the practical supervision over the implementation of the decisions by the people's representations gain considerable importance. Also from this active and constant participation by the working people comes the strength that adds up to the historic superiority the socialist state has and which is a decisive potential for further strengthening socialist state power and further improving its managerial and planning activities.

#### Our Election Law -- Expression of the Degree of Maturity in Our Socialist Democracy

In our socialist state, the political essence and social function of the elections have always been connected with the process of overall social progress, the concrete content and the methods for carrying out the elections have always taken their clues from the main tasks of the working class and the working people allied with it in any given period of development, and they serve the implementation of those tasks. Thus the election law -- and this is true of socialist law in general -- is not set down for once and for all. In socialism it must reflect any given state of social development and, being part of the superstructure, actively promote, organize and protect the realization of the targets established. The new stage in the shaping of the developed socialist society in our republic which was initiated with the Eighth Party Congress, the progress then made in every way and the wealth of new experiences have made it possible, as they have made it necessary, to adapt our election law to these new conditions. With all this, the changes in the new election law all carry the signs of more intensive socialist democracy, endorsed by the Ninth Party Congress, as the main trend for the further development of our workers and farmers state.

The essential relations between the voters and those whom they elect are determined, and elevated, as voting principles, to a predominant principle of the election law and of elections, in recognition of the greater role played by the people's representations, the power organs of the socialist state chosen by the citizens in bringing to reality their basic constitutional right to codetermination and shared responsibility. It is precisely for the reason that in socialism the relations between voters and deputies by no means end with the election, but election preparation and implementation establish a permanent cooperation between deputies and voters and become the starting point for the people's deputies' responsibility and accountability to their voters, that the following is vested in the new election law:

"The deputies fulfill their responsible tasks in the interest and for the benefit of the GDR working people. They keep in close contact with their voters and work collectives and work together with the committees of the National Front of the GDR and the social organizations, especially with the trade unions in the enterprises. They are obligated to submit regular accounting to their voters on their representative activities and on their own work and to assure a conscientious handling of the citizens' propositions, suggestions and criticism. Any deputy can be recalled by the voters for a gross violation of his duties."

The experiences made during the elections after the Eighth Party Congress confirm in every way that the degree of maturity reached in our socialist democracy permits a further development of the procedure for nominating and testing the candidates. Already during the 1974 communal elections, democratic deliberations held within the work collectives concerning the candidates widely proved themselves and led to sound results. These experiences made by the working class, amounting to a significant further development of the democratic manner of nominating and testing candidates by the voters, and thus of the whole voting system, are now going to be applied in a comprehensive way in carrying out the elections for the People's Chamber and the bezirk legislatures.

That is the reason why the election law stipulates, as an obligatory election principle, that even prior to their nomination the candidates are to be tested and proposed by the democratic parties and mass organizations in the collectives in which they work. By means of this principle that has now become a general rule it is intended to encourage in several directions at once the democratic effectiveness of civic codetermination and shared responsibility. A special point is made here of the greater role the work collectives have in which the new attitude toward socialist work, toward collective aspirations after high competitive achievements, are being developed and the characteristics of socialist personalities are being formed. This, for one thing conforms with the fact that in the process of productive labor a social sense of responsibility and democratic activities form most directly and dynamically. And then also, a testing of candidates that has the benefit of expert knowledge and social requirements can lead to a more thorough selection of the future representatives and grant the voters more insight into social interconnections and the responsible tasks of their representatives. This in turn furthers the willingness of the working people and their collectives to take part, together with their future deputies, in the socialist shaping of social development.

The greater role played by the National Front as a socialist popular movement in the GDR -- to stress merely one other extremely important further development in our election law -- also is brought out in the new election law. The National Council, or the National Front committees, must make proposals for the members of the election committees and in public meetings in the bezirks and kreises decide on election district nominations for the People's Chamber and the bezirk legislatures. The important thing will be to turn the election movement, borne to a large extent by the National Front, and the many activities resulting therefrom into vital communication engaged in between the working people and their deputies and candidates pertaining to the basic issues raised by the Ninth Party Congress, issues of our time, our life of today and of tomorrow.

The higher responsibility assigned to the democratic parties and mass organizations and to the National Front by means of the new election law also indicates that the collaboration between our party and the other friendly parties will also in the future continue to enjoy a great importance.

It is in line with the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress and with the working style our party has been developing, especially in recent years, that through the new election law numerous details in the preparation and implementation of the elections have been simplified. Everything the citizen has to know to exercise his basic democratic election privilege is contained in it, clearly set down in one unified legal regulation and intelligibly presented. An important concern of election preparation thus will also be to explain the new election law to the voters and to support them in the extensive exercise of their civic rights and duties.

The sixth election period of the People's Chamber and the bezirk legislatures since our state was established will end in a few weeks. The newly to be elected people's representations will, on 17 October, in accordance with the tasks and goals that the Ninth SED Congress has decided on, be confronted, through democratic decision, with new responsible tasks. After all, this is a matter of pursuing higher goals in the continuation of the proven policy of peace and security, of the unity between economic and social policy aimed at the well-being of men -- a policy that has become still tighter through the working people's confidence in their state, finding its expression in the greater readiness to continue strengthening our GDR all around.

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## EAST GERMANY

### CLASS CHARACTER OF DEMOCRACY/FREEDOM CONCEPT EMPHASIZED

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[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member of GDR Academy of Sciences:  
"Democracy and Freedom in the Socialist Society"]

[Text] With the further shaping of the developed socialist society and the ideological class struggle of our time, the Marxist-Leninist definition of the class character of freedom and democracy is gaining increasing importance. By taking issue with reactionary-conservative and bourgeois-reformist, including social-reformist, conceptions of freedom and democracy, the author proves: Socialism alone realizes true freedom and democracy for the working people; socialist democracy is marked by historically new criteria; and the further growth of freedom and democracy is an inevitable process in socialism.

"The strength of socialist democracy lies in its penetrating all domains of public life and in making fruitful to society, at an ever wider scope, men's activities, expert knowledge and creativity."<sup>1</sup> Therein exactly lies the nature of true democracy and real freedom for the working people. The perfecting of socialist democracy, the active and expert participation by the working people in the direction and resolution of public affairs and thus, their exercise of their freedom rights are becoming more and more important criteria and levers for a continuing, conscious and organized forward march by society under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.

To the revolutionary working class and its party, freedom and democracy do not mean anything like those flaccid and fatuous abstractions bandied about by bourgeois politicians and ideologues for the purpose of hushing up before the popular masses the class character of freedom and democracy. Rather, when one talks about democracy and freedom in the socialist society, what matters is that, in socialism, everything is done with the people and for

the people, the interests of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people are brought to realization, the working people are brought into ever closer proximity to the exercise of power and the disposition of all public affairs and are provided with sound education, ideological conviction and a broad spiritual horizon, so that the working people become aware and energetic builders of the new society. It is decisively prerequisite to all that to have the working class exercise the political power holding it firmly in hand in its alliance with all other working people. That is the main substance of democracy and freedom in the socialist society. Fundamentally, the realization of the whole purpose of socialism, all the processes taking place in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and, thus, in the creation of the basic preconditions for the gradual transition to communism, it all amounts to a concentrated ideological reflection of the continued and conscious unfolding of democracy and freedom.

#### Freedom and Democracy -- Basic Questions of the Ideological Class Struggle

An illuminating explanation and dissemination of the truth of these matters is an important political-ideological task. It amounts to reinforcing and deepening clear class-bound positions based on the scientific Marxist-Leninist conception, confirmed by public practical affairs, of the nature and development of democracy and freedom for the working people under socialism. That at once also calls for a cogent refutation and the unmasking of the demagogic abuse of the concepts of freedom and democracy by the spokesmen of the exploiter society.

The political-ideological work in this connection thus is not only concerned with the development in the socialist countries. Rather, it involves the questions of the revolutionary world process, the worldwide spiritual class conflict altogether. The changes in the world arena which have already spread to all continents and regions and initiated a renewal of the world under the aegis of peace, democracy and social progress find their ideological expression also especially in bitter contests over democracy and freedom.

As a reaction to the real socialism, the "social order that creates peace and guarantees economic upsurge, social security, freedom and justice,"<sup>2</sup> and in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, imperialist, petty bourgeois and other political forces are seeking more eagerly right now to propagate conservative-reactionary, bourgeois-reformist and petty bourgeois-utopian conceptions of democracy and freedom. Most of these conceptions aim at making the working people believe only capitalism could accord with the popular aspirations after freedom and democracy. This makes it an elemental requirement of our ideological work to expose the historical foundations and the class character of the various ideas of democracy and freedom. Especially in this field it is important to be mindful of Lenin's remark to the effect that people in politics will always be the foolish victims of deceit and self-illusion unless they learn "to seek behind any possible moral, religious, political and social phraseology, pronouncements and promises the interests of one class or another."<sup>3</sup>

How necessary it is to be able, particularly with respect to the ideological conflict on democracy and freedom, to properly assess the class character of the various conceptions by bourgeois ideologists by providing an analysis from the standpoint of the working class becomes apparent by the mere fact that the representatives of the most reactionary and aggressive circles of monopoly capital, the ones who most strive for authoritarian power, are also the ones who are making the biggest noise about freedom. "Freedom instead of Socialism" is one of the demagogic election slogans of the CDU/CSU in the FRG. The anti-communist thrust and the intention to shore up ideologically the direct and unrestrained rulership claim by the monopoly bourgeoisie is typical of all conservative-reactionary conceptions of freedom. They are declaring the private ownership of the means of production an indispensable condition for human freedom. Along with that, other conceptions, even the bourgeois-reformist ones, as soon as they become in any way suspect of jeopardizing the unrestrained exercise of power and domination by the monopoly bourgeoisie, are stigmatized as a threat to freedom. Thus, according to the conservative ideologist Schelsky, "more democracy," in so far as it is understood "in the sense of an increased participation by the population in the formation of political intention" and as more social justice, really is "less freedom."<sup>4</sup> Whose freedom he is talking about becomes all the more obvious when such notions are given support by authoritative representatives of monopoly capital. The Confederation of German Employers Associations then entered the discussion in which the bourgeois ideologists were engaged and identified freedom directly with private enterprise. The regulating capacity of the state should be used in such a way that "private economic activities and investing along profit considerations can proceed autonomously."<sup>5</sup> Here the true class content of this kind of freedom propaganda stands fully revealed: This freedom is the unbridled autonomy of the profit drive by the capitalist monopolies. The demagoguery with the concept of freedom serves the reactionary forces in producing an atmosphere of defamation and mental terror against all who are of different opinion, mainly against communists and democratic forces altogether, the trade unions among them.

Capitalism is demonstrating ever more clearly its inability to fulfill the aspirations by the popular masses after freedom, peace, democracy and social justice. Bourgeois ideologists therefore are zealously trying to remove themselves from today's social reality, and the actual interests of the working people from the concept of freedom, and to define freedom by as abstract and hazy a concept as possible so that any reactionary construction can be put on it. A theoretical justification for that kind of procedure is easy to find in bourgeois philosophy, for example in the thesis that freedom can neither be cognized nor objectively thought. Which makes freedom something incomprehensible, a mystery. Its realm presumably is not of this world at all, as was revealed in the recently published draft program on principles by the CDU in the FRG, which states: "The origin of freedom is neither man nor society. Freedom is given in a reality that transcends the human world." Transferred to the irrational in this fashion, freedom becomes a mystical concept that defies any conscious shaping by society.



It is essentially the same idealistic-philosophic conception on which the freedom and democracy propaganda of bourgeois-reformist, mainly social-reformist, forces is based. This is a matter not to be obfuscated by the undoubtedly also existing differences in the conceptions of freedom as between the conservative reactionaries and the bourgeois reformists. Those differences reflect a certain opposition of interest existing within the ruling bourgeoisie and contrasting ideas resulting therefrom about what imperialism has to do to accommodate itself to a power ratio changed in its disfavor. If bourgeois-reformist conceptions are postulating the "changeability" of capitalism and to some degree indeed have picked up the demands by the working people in the capitalist countries for more freedom and democracy, they do, to be sure, offer a different variant of imperialist accommodation strategy -- while they yet in no way aim at actually surmounting the imperialist power and property relations. Also the bourgeois-reformist ideologists are notorious for their hostility to dialectical materialism and for the idealistic root of their conception of freedom. They are starting from the thesis that freedom is something outside inevitable processes, a fantasy, a "basic value" of infinite validity "the ultimate source of which lies in the conscience of the individual."<sup>6</sup>

The political intent of such idealistic interpretations of freedom and democracy, as ahistorical-abstract phenomena, lies in the attempt to disguise the causes of the masses' increasing servitude under imperialism and at once to lend a semblance of libertarian-democratic order to monopoly capital's exercise of economic and political power. The idealistic interpretation of freedom is meant to screen the state monopoly system of domination against attacks and to confine the rights and aspirations of the people in any given case or to guide them into channels that do not infringe on actual power structures. And it is also a function of such conceptions of democracy and freedom to disqualify true democratic aspirations by the working people for changes in social relations as being directed against "freedom" and, in particular, to denigrate true socialism as being unfree, in order to counteract its ~~ever~~ increasing radiating strength affecting the working people in the capitalist countries.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of freedom and democracy is marked by fundamentally different political and philosophical positions. It is defined scientifically and based on the fundamental position of dialectical materialism in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, and it is inseparably connected with the knowledge that social development up to the global victory of socialism is propelled ahead by the struggle of the classes. Freedom is no unfathomable, ahistorical "basic value" above and beyond the struggle of classes and social systems, but a very real and historically developing relationship between man and his environment. As Marxism-Leninism has proven on the basis of practical social experience, freedom is "the practical domination by man over external nature, the interconnections and processes of public life, and himself, based on the knowledge of objective inevitabilities and on the ability for making sound decisions."<sup>7</sup> Freedom thus is a historic phenomenon tied to economic, social, political and spiritual-cultural premises. It always has a historically circumscribed range and thrust, expressed in the fundamental question:

Freedom -- for whom? Freedom -- wherefrom and for what? And the scientific, rigorously materialist answer to these questions leads straightaway to this insight: "To be exploited and to be free are two things that are mutually exclusive."<sup>8</sup> Even if the popular masses through historic movements and transformations thus far managed to win certain freedoms -- as, for example, through dropping the chains of feudalism by the development of capitalism that produced the free wage earner --, they still always brought in new forms of exploitation, social bondage, unfreedom. Only with the end of exploitation, with socialism, do the working people get their real freedom.

#### The Political Power of the Working Class -- The Condition for Real Freedom and Democracy for the Working People

Only when the working class establishes its political power, when through the fundamental transformation of the production relations the society is transformed in toto, when social security is ensured, the people's material and cultural standard of living is purposefully raised and education and culture are opened up to all, only then freedom becomes a social reality for the workers, working peasants and members of the intelligentsia. Only then can the preconditions form for the all round development of the working people's personality. To the extent that men, in the process of the construction and further shaping of socialism, on the road to socialism and communism, and based on what they know and can do, systematically develop their social organization and discipline, the productive forces, the production relations and their spiritual-cultural life, and become the rulers of the inevitable laws of nature and society, their freedom gains true shape and force. "The laws of their own social action," Friedrich Engels says, "which previously faced them as alien natural laws holding control over them, are then used, and thus controlled, by the people who fully understand what they do. Man's socialization, until then facing them as if imposed upon them by nature and society, now becomes their own free choice. The objective, alien powers that used to dominate history now come under the control of man himself. Only from then on will men, fully conscious, make their own history, and the social causes they themselves set in motion will then produce, predominantly and at an ever increasing rate, the effects intended with them. This is the leap of mankind from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."<sup>9</sup>

Like freedom, democracy also is a real, rationally feasible, historically concrete social condition. It is a matter of the political and governmental rule by a certain class. Thus democracy is a historical phenomenon the content of which always is determined by the class character of any given state. Democracy for whom, for which class? That is the decisive question here as well. This historical and class-bound approach by Marxism-Leninism leads to the recognition, confirmed by the experiences of history, that a "pure" democracy, presumably above and beyond the class struggle and the class interests, never has been and never can be. That has been fully corroborated, especially in our time, by the practical aspects of the class struggle, the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples.

To the extent that the general crisis of capitalism is intensifying, the social and political struggles of the working class are advancing and ever broader social strata join the struggle against the power of the monopolies and on behalf of pervasive social transformations, monopoly capitalism is increasingly seeking to adopt authoritarian forms in the exercise of power. This also confirms in contemporary social affairs Lenin's remark: "In foreign as well as in domestic policy, imperialism, tending toward reaction, seeks to violate democracy."<sup>10</sup>

The Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress has pointed out that precisely those politicians and ideologists of the imperialist bourgeoisie who are pretending to democracy and freedom and like to teach the socialist countries lessons on democracy are the ones who in their own countries perform as the outriders in the diminution of bourgeois democracy there. Snooping and license withdrawals, emergency laws and corruption, persecution and the suppression of progressive forces testify to that.<sup>11</sup> The document of the conference of communist and workers' parties of Europe states that it is more necessary today than ever to strengthen the struggle for the defense and development of the democratic rights to halt the growing trend of monopoly capital toward adopting repressive and authoritarian methods of domination and threatening the achievements the peoples have made in taking the road of peace and social progress.<sup>12</sup>

The proletariat, and the other progressive forces along with it, are therefore struggling for a democratic way leading out of the crisis of the capitalist system, one which will conform with the interests of the broad popular masses, oppose the bastions of monopoly capital domination and open the road to a socialist transformation of society -- that is, the transition, in Lenin's words, "from the democracy of the oppressors to the democracy by the oppressed classes."<sup>13</sup>

The forms for this transition can be most diversified. They depend on concrete historical circumstances, especially on the form of the international power relations, on traditions and other factors. Practical historic developments since the Great Socialist October Revolution have shown various forms of struggle and methods of this revolutionary transformation. Decisive for it, however, always has been the class content of the democratic changes. Important is that a transition takes place to a higher type of democracy in terms of world history, which above all is marked by the fact that the political power lies firmly in the hands of the working class and its allies. The type of socialist democracy that was brought to realization in the socialist community of states is, in its essence and historical functions, its class content and class tasks, from the very beginning "a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy"<sup>14</sup> for it embodies, for the first time in history, the true governing power of the vast majority of the working class and the working classes and strata allied with it. Thus in the GDR the perfecting and unfolding of socialist democracy is the main trend in which socialist state power -- a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that represents the interests of all the people -- develops in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and thus, in creating basic preconditions for the gradual transition to communism.

## New Qualitative Criteria for Socialist Democracy

Bourgeois and social-reformist ideologues seek to attack and defame the state and social order of the socialist countries from the positions of bourgeois democracy. New and historically more elevated social conditions can however not be properly judged either by the criteria of historically backward social conditions or from the stupid standpoint of the class representatives of those conditions. Democracy has its own essential measures and criteria which result from the world historic mission of the working class, the interests of all working people, and history's law of motion in the current epoch. It embodies in its social content a higher form of democracy than any bourgeois democracy because it amounts to the working people's freedom from capitalist and any other kind of exploitation and humiliation, from social insecurity, unemployment, inflation and other ills of capitalism and, with respect to all areas of international and national life, rigorously represents the vital interests of the working class and of all the people. The qualitative difference, the historical superiority, is found precisely in that socialist democracy, in conformity with the objective social developmental inevitabilities, always aims at furthering the initiative and the creativity of the working masses in applying them at an ever increasing rate, for the good of society and of the individual. It insures an ever broader participation by the citizens in the skilled running of all public affairs and guarantees all working people's access to education and culture.

Our socialist educational system, which conforms to the constantly growing spiritual demands of the citizens, the competition obligations assumed, the cultural and educational plans of socialist brigades and collectives demonstrate this as much as does the extensive influence the working people have on the drafting of laws. There were, for example, 5.4 million citizens, chiefly FDJ members among them, who took part in the public discussion of the draft for the youth law. In the course of that discussion, as many as 4821 proposals were submitted. The recommendations and experiences contained in them led to approximately 200 changes in the draft law. In the discussion on the draft for the GDR civil code citizens submitted 4091 recommendations which led to approximately 360 change and amendment propositions. Nor does socialist democracy terminate in the ever more active influence the working people are taking on the shaping and enforcing of socialist law.

The signs are ever clearer in the life of our socialist society of how much the democratic influence taken by the working people on shaping all domains of public life has become a mark of real socialist democracy and the socialist way of life in formation. The active participation by thousands of citizens in the committees of the people's representations, the National Front committees, parents' advisory councils and other democratic bodies<sup>15</sup> testifies to that as much as does the increasing participation of the working people in the development of public activities in the residential areas. That includes, for example, the greater influence the working people are having on the further development of spiritual-cultural life. Cultural activities are reflected in the growing number of enterprise festivals, housing area festivals, the youth and village clubs and new sports and recreational facilities that serve the citizens in high-level leisure time activities.

In saying, with Lenin, that socialist democracy affords all working people the opportunity to show their talents and abilities, this goes for women and youths in particular. Various state measures have set the stage for making one woman out of every three deputies in our republic, for instance, one out of five mayors, one out of every three board members of an LPG, one out of three judges, and one out of four in leading functions in the state-owned industry. In 1975, one out of three innovators was a youth, and 238,772 youths were working in 20,575 clubs of young innovators, in research communities and so forth there were 74,695 youth projects. Especially these sober figures can demonstrate what socialist democracy provides for the individual, compared with the situation of women and youths in the capitalist countries and with their struggle for better developmental conditions.

A characteristic feature of the political power of the working class thus lies in its replacing the highfalutin and hypocritical bourgeois slogans of freedom and democracy by an objective and sober manner of taking hold on the part of real democracy and freedom. That happens in the conscious public practical activities of millions of working people day after day.

That is also clearly borne out in the sphere of material production. The SED program states that socialist democracy in this domain is gaining ever greater importance, and a reference is made to the role of the work collectives, the responsibility of the trade unions and the functions of socialist competition.<sup>16</sup> This sober observation defines one of the historically most important achievements in real freedom and democracy for the working people. This sphere of our social reality provides a vivid proof for the manner in which the workers and farmers' power is incomparably more democratic than any bourgeois democracy. Through participating in socialist competition, the activists and innovator movement, and trade union work, the working people are directly taking part in management and planning through their ideas, suggestions and efforts, and they significantly and directly help in the smoothly flowing and dynamic development of the economy. Here the struggle for high labor productivity and efficiency is purposefully being combined with the steady improvement of working and living conditions. Here socialist democracy truly comes into its own as the creative activity of the working class and its allies on behalf of the development of the economy and of living conditions -- in the interest of the working class and of all working people. Here millions of working people gain skills during their workday in expertly and actively participating in the management of the business of state and in economic management.

In learning to handle the concrete demands and tasks connected with it, the individual at once proves himself as a socialist personality and gains deeper insights into social interconnections. He acquires new knowledge, learns to assume responsibility, while relying on the collective, and he gets an ever better overall view on the social importance of what he himself does. Participation in the democratic exercise of power calls for open-mindedness toward all that is progressive, initiative, firmness of principles and tenacity in enforcing social tasks, integrity vis-a-vis the collective, care for the fellow-men as much as standing up for the concerns of socialist society. Through promoting such personality characteristics the socialist democracy contributes

to the development of socialist personalities and enriches their lives. Thus the great spiritual-cultural changes taking place in connection with the shaping of the developed socialist society are in many ways related to socialist democracy and its further perfection. All this demonstrates how the democratic right the individual has to being involved in the development of his abilities in the sphere of everyday working and living becomes something he himself can truly sense.

All these facts in our lives, which could be multiplied by many other examples, thus amount to a convincing manifestation to the effect that socialist democracy and its being actively engaged in by the GDR working people are becoming an ever more consciously used means, in fact, becoming taken for granted, in their creating through their own creative work ever better conditions for meaningful, substantive living within their society. Practice shows socialist democracy serving the realization of the working people's vital interests. And so, as a basic achievement of true-to-life socialism, it is becoming more and more attractive to the broad popular masses in the capitalist countries.

The strength and power of socialist democracy, proving its formative capability in the life of society, does of course challenge the bourgeois ideologues time and again. Their attacks therefore have always targeted on democratic centralism. There is a good reason for that. Socialist democracy becomes a force that enormously accelerates social progress in all domains of life precisely for the reason that, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party and on the basis of its scientifically established policy, the workers and farmers' power unites millions of citizens and thousands of collectives in enterprises and facilities in systematically organized collaboration. That, however, comes about through a rigorous and creative application of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the well proven foundation for the construction, co-operation and activity of all organs of our socialist state power.

Socialist society can apply the laws of public life with complete expertise, make them useful to their purposes and control them that way only when central management and planning of fundamental social processes and the creative activity of the working people, the independently responsible activities in the economic units and in the local organs, are effectively combined with each other. The party program states: "In accordance with the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, the management and planning of the social processes is more and more being concentrated on expert decision in basic matters. The independent responsibility and initiative of the local state organs, the combines and enterprises, the cooperatives and institutions toward the realization of the state tasks are endorsed. The cooperation among the local state organs, towns, communities and community associations as well as between them and the combines and enterprises, the social organizations and the National Front committees, taps important reserves which are being used for the benefit of the working people."<sup>17</sup>

The perfecting and development of socialist democracy is an inevitable process the course of which is conditioned by many factors. And here, two aspects

must be singled out: First, socialist democracy is and remains an achievement and bastion of the class struggle. Its concrete shape is therefore not only dependent on internal processes. It is also conditioned by the course of the worldwide struggle between socialism and imperialism, by the forms in which that struggle between the opposing social systems and class forces is carried out, and by the further changes in the global power ratio in favor of socialism and of the forces of peace and social progress. Second, to the development of democracy and freedom in socialism basically also applies what Marx said in his Critique of the Gotha Program about law: It can "never exceed the level of that of the economy and the effect that has on the cultural development of society."<sup>18</sup> All steps in further shaping the developed socialist society -- such as the perfecting of the material-technical base of the economy, or the further elevation of socialist awareness among the masses -- mean and require at once that true democracy and freedom for the working people be further perfected and developed. Democracy and freedom are matters pertaining to the exercise of real social power by the working people, in their own interest, matters of their active and responsible participation in the management and planning of society, of the shaping of their concrete working and living conditions, the enriching of their spiritual-cultural life -- and thus they are at the same time functions of the shaping of the socialist way of life and of the furthering of personality development.

It is important therefore in all spheres to make more extensive use of the citizens' ideas and initiatives and to create ever better conditions for a skilled participation by all, for the development of the working people's creative capabilities, in line with the fundamental tasks of the socialist present and the communist future. Democracy and freedom are profoundly connected with those pervasive political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes that add up to the formation of the developed socialist society. Their further perfection cannot be separated from fulfilling the task posed in the SED program of "developing all advantages and impulses, all aspects and domains of public life, the productive forces and production relations, the social and political connections, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the total complex of working and living conditions as well as of national defense, and this, systematically and on a high level."<sup>19</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 113.
2. Ibid., p 21.
3. V. I. Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Components of Marxism," "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 8.
4. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 20 January 1973.

5. "Erklaerung der Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbaende zu gesellschaftspolitischen Grundsatzfragen, Entwurf" (Draft Statement by the Confederation of German Employers Associations on Matters of Principle in Social Policy), Cologne, 1974, p 25.
6. Willi Eichler, "Social Democratic Policy Program and Practical Politics," DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, No 11, 1971, p 777.
7. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 106.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 111.
9. Friedrich Engels, op. cit., p 264.
10. V. I. Lenin, "Concerning a Caricature of Marxism and 'Imperialist Economism,'" "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 34.
11. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 24.
12. Cf. EINHEIT, No 8, 1976, p 853.
13. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke," Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 433.
14. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 247.
15. Cf., e.g., "The GDR People's Representations," this EINHEIT issue, p 1058.
16. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 44.
17. Ibid., pp 42-43.
18. Karl Marx, "Critique of the Gotha Program," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 21.
19. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," loc. cit., p 19.

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## EAST GERMANY

### EXAMPLES OF LOCAL LEGISLATURE RESPONSIBILITIES GIVEN

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 9, Sep 76 signed to press 9 Aug 76  
pp 987-992

[Article by Richard Gothe, graduate social scientist, member of SED Erfurt Bezirk Management secretariat, chairman of Erfurt Bezirk Council: "People's Representations Facing Solemn Responsibilities"]

[Text] New solemn responsibilities arise for the local people's representations from the task of realizing the Ninth SED Congress decisions, the further unfolding and perfecting of socialist democracy, which is the main trend of development for the socialist state power. The author reports about experiences gained by the local people's representations of Erfurt Bezirk in territorial rationalization, in informing and training the deputies, in public work and in the collaboration with the social forces in the territory.

The further development of socialist state power is wholly subject to the demands resulting from the goals posed by the Ninth SED Congress of further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. That calls for "developing all advantages and impulses, all aspects and domains of public life, the productive forces and production relations, the social and political connections, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the total complex of working and living conditions as well as of national defense, and this, systematically and on a high level."<sup>1</sup>

From that, new solemn responsibilities arise for the local people's representations, which are implementing the unified state policy of the workers and farmers' power, in accordance with specific conditions, within their territory. Higher demands are thus being made on the uniform, complex and coordinated management of social development within the territory, on the cooperative efforts among the local state organs themselves, the cooperation with the citizens, enterprises, cooperatives and facilities, the collaboration with the trade unions, the other social organizations and the National Front committees.

The successful realization of all these tasks, the further development and perfecting of socialist democracy, at once create increasingly more favorable conditions for enabling the working people to lend substance and culture to their lives and to feel comfortable and secure in our society. That in turn improves their social activities and provides new impulses for their involvement in working, planning and governing, and it increases their readiness for totally investing their own responsibility in the solution of social tasks. The citizens' active participation in the management and solution of public affairs at once also turns out to be an essential element in the further shaping of the socialist way of life and of the development of socialist personalities.

#### Territorial Rationalization Taps Important Reserves

The results achieved in Erfurt Bezirk, for example in the struggle for a further intensification of social production and the systematic improvement of working and living conditions that goes with it -- as in the territorial rationalization, the more efficient use made of public wealth and a higher capacity use obtained from available basic capital -- have demonstrated: If citizens participate actively and their initiatives and wealth of ideas are encouraged and utilized, important reserves can be tapped. This shall be illustrated by a few selected examples.

Based on decisions by the SED bezirk management and its secretariat, the local legislature in plenary session in February 1976 conferred on fundamental tasks on greater intensification -- especially on the territorially needed prerequisites for making better use of the basic capital and a more effective use of public wealth. From this, for example, 1,200 working people could be recruited for multishift work. In the VEB luggage factory of Kindelbrueck, Soemmerda Kreis, the duration in the operational use of the highly productive power punch could be raised from 8 to 16 hours. Through carefully examining and applying recommendations and suggestions by the working people in this enterprise, production areas were put to better and more efficient use and the production process was improved. The health hazards from adhesives also were diminished.

Through socialist collaboration among our local legislature, the Ministry for Machine Tool and Processing Machinery Building, and the local state organs in our bezirk and the "Herbert Warnke" VEB conversion technology combine in Erfurt, one has succeeded in carrying out according to plan an extensive CEMA project on the rationalization and expansion of production capacities. Important partial production sectors started operating by deadline; 64 percent of the working people is working in three shifts to make full capacity use of the modern, highly productive investments. Great attention was given here from the beginning to bring about the required production increase and also to improve the working people's working and living conditions. Apartments, kindergarten and nursery vacancies were among the things that were made available through these cooperative efforts, and accommodations were provided for the manpower recruited from all over the bezirk.

Among the overall success achieved also belongs what was accomplished in the field of territorial rationalization by the Greussen communal association. A decision by the SED bezirk management was the start. With the energetic support by the Sondershausen SED kreis management and the local party organization, the local people's representations in this communal association have mobilized all social forces and brought it about that the heat supply of 11 enterprises and facilities could be coordinated. At the same time a joint sewage plant could be built which, compared to previous separate operations, saved for the time being as much as M 4 million. All industrial and agricultural enterprises in the immediate territory participated in the modernization, conversion and completion of 130 apartments. These results in target-oriented labor demonstrate: The increasing coordination and concentration of growing material and financial funds make possible the tapping of reserves for increasing production as well as for further improving the working and living conditions of rural workers.

The cooperation between the people's representations and the enterprises, combines, cooperatives and other institutions for the purpose of creating in the most efficient manner the prerequisites required for rationalization and other measures to increase labor productivity, to improve working and living conditions, and to make better use of territorial resources and other things has brought us many valuable experiences. They are being systematically analyzed and used to make the work of the local people's representations still more highly skilled. It has been found that territorial rationalization, which affects all aspects and domains of the economy and social practice in the territory, does not fit into one single mold. In practice it has been shown that many questions concerning further intensification and steadily improving the working people's working and living conditions cannot be solved within the framework of one single enterprise. Solving them requires the organized collaboration by the enterprises, cooperatives and facilities located in the territory, and the local people's representations must of course also exercise their full responsibility. And so the advantages of our social system are offering new possibilities all the time for finding rational solutions in the overall social interest through the various forms of socialist cooperative work.

The working people in the "Herbert Warnke" VEB conversion technology combine in Erfurt, for example, have taken the initiative in more effectively applying, in line with decisions by the people's representations, their own potentials in other enterprises and facilities in the territory as well. That starts with their making available their experiences in management, planning and investment allocation, in their joint and coordinated investing of funds in the working and living conditions, and is followed up by making available means of rationalization for consumer goods enterprises, and finally reaches the performance of material achievements through industrial capacities in communal territorial institutions.

Our experiences confirm that greater efficiency in state management and planning requires the work and personal dedication by all members of the people's representations on standing committees, in their work collectives

and in the towns and communities in which they live. The effectiveness and the level of the work of all people's representations largely depend on how close their contacts with the citizens are and on how each individual deputy, through his relationship of trust to the people, helps in taking account of their ideas, advice, suggestions and criticism in elaborating and implementing state measures and decisions.

#### Information and Instruction for the Deputies

Producing a close relationship of trust with the citizens, consulting with them and jointly examining in situ which territorial reserves might be tapped, gaining their cooperation and encouraging the wealth of their ideas, their organizational talent and their great readiness to involve themselves -- all that presupposes that various methods and forms are used to inform the deputies regularly and thoroughly and constantly to improve their qualification for their responsible activities. In our bezirk, the "deputy day" held in connection with every session of the bezirk legislature has proven itself as much as has the manner of providing the deputies with instruction and information during the annual meetings that last for several days. At each session of the bezirk legislature also, the deputies receive answers to their questions, and they are informed on how inquiries, recommendations and suggestions of previous meetings were handled.

The "deputy day" is an important part of the work the bezirk council does in enabling the deputies to undertake their tasks with great elan and clever ideas, in helping them pursue and take account of the problems, petitions and inquiries the working people have brought to them and in maintaining steady and vital contacts with the working people. The "deputy day" is always held 4 to 6 weeks prior to a plenary session of the bezirk legislature. As to its substance, the executive functionaries of the central state organs or of the bezirk then always discuss the subject of the next session of the bezirk legislature. Excursions to enterprises and facilities also are held, in the proper order of importance, so that one can hold discussions with the working people right at their places of work and exploit those discussions at once.

While the bezirk legislature had under advisement the tasks for further intensification, prerequisite as they are to any further improvement of efficiency in all public domains, the deputies visited the kreises of Muehlhausen and Soemmerda. In meetings with plant directors and members of the kreis council, they were the ones to explain to the deputies how the requirements were being met in their areas of responsibility, what problems there were to be solved, and what was being done to improve the active participation of the workers, the members of the intelligentsia and the other working people. During and after the inspection of the rationalization projects many conversations were held with the working people and questions were asked and answered. A vibrant exchange of experiences then gave birth to new ideas and sparked new initiatives. Everyone could broaden the scope of his own experiences.

Purposefully improving the qualifications of the deputies turns out to be an important prerequisite for better quality and efficiency in the activities of the local people's representations as corporate bodies at work engaged in the exercise of power. It is equally necessary, of course, that the deputies devote themselves on their own, in exemplary consistency, to the realization of the decisions made by the people's representations and help the working people, in the enterprises and residential areas, overcome difficulties and solve problems.

#### Effective Public Work Encourages the Working People's Initiative

In the process of the further perfecting of socialist democracy all aspects of the activities of the people's representation are being shaped further. That applies as much to the meetings and the work of the councils as the authoritative executive organs of the people's representations as to the work of the deputies in the committees and their activities in the enterprises and residential areas. When all forms of organizations and activities that pertain to the people's representations proceed together, through a division of labor, the broad stream of initiatives coming from the working people and from all social forces can then be controlled, promoted and put to use in state management and planning. The quality and effectiveness in the work of the people's representations and their organs will depend more and more on the degree to which one succeeds in enforcing the principles of democratic centralism, in making long-range plans for the work while constantly improving the input-output ratio, in preparing plenary sessions of the local people's representations in a complex and long-range manner, in publicly explaining all the decisions they have to make all around, in concentrating the work of the standing committees and of the deputies on a uniform implementation and control of the decisions, including the submission of accounts, and in regularly exploiting, and drawing general rules from, the best experiences.

Systematic and comprehensive information given to the citizens must be kept in mind here in particular. That is part of the public works plan, an element of the bezirk council working plan. Steady political-ideological work is called for, and that includes effective information given to the citizens in order further to foster their readiness to solve the tasks of their people's representations jointly with the deputies, assume personal responsibility for them and have an expert position to offer in the joint decision-making process.

Let us demonstrate this by an example: In late July the bezirk legislature was considering matters of socialist family policy. The matter under consideration was special aid to large families. This was based on the Ninth SED Congress decisions and the legal provisions issued by the People's Chamber and the Council of Ministers. For 6 weeks, important points contained in the resolution had been published in DAS VOLK, the organ of the Erfurt SED bezirk management. Under the motto of "family policy, open to the public," the population was encouraged to take positions on such matters as:

Which council, or enterprise or collective, is setting an example in the way it takes care of large families? How do the housing communities help and support such families? What is worthy of imitation and what ought to be changed? The deputy chairmen and members of the bezirk council took positions on important partial tasks of the social policy and the way they were carried out. The press reported regularly on the conversations the deputies held with workers, cooperative farmers and other working people, and questions posed by the working people were picked up and answered.

Through such mass activity and democratic discussions with the citizens, many suggestions were brought to the bezirk council which were included in the resolutions and taken account of in the further work. That kind of working procedure by the people's representations helps involve more and more working people in the preparations of the conferences and in decision-making directly, which again helps harmonize social with personal interests.

Especially through this direct contact with the citizens and precise familiarity with the working and living conditions, their interests and cares, the local power organs have, along with the work collectives, excellent opportunities for effective political-ideological mass activities. These opportunities must still be more effectively used in the future in order to increase the success in developing socialist consciousness and encourage the formation of socialist attitudes on the part of all citizens. This will also develop further important impulses for the planned social advances. By placing confidence in discussing with the citizens their own questions, problems and suggestions, we make sure that they will sense in practical ways the outcome of their involvement. That at once increases their willingness to fulfill through rich initiatives the party and government resolutions. And thus we bring it about that the work by the people's representations is increasingly more marked "by the working people's and their collectives' more extensive and expert participation in the management and planning of economic, social and cultural development and in preparing, implementing and controlling the laws and state decisions," and relationship of confidence between the citizens and their socialist state becomes ever closer.<sup>2</sup>

#### Working Together With All Social Forces

The work with the local people's representations in our bezirk confirms the conviction that optimal solutions for improving the working and living conditions, the site distribution of the productive forces, for structuring the infrastructure and using territorial resources in the allocation of social wealth, for meaningfully coordinating industrial possibilities with local capacities and so forth can be found and realized only if the local people's representations and their councils work closely together with the enterprises, combines, cooperatives and installations as well as with the social organizations and the National Front committees. Only by that kind of cooperation under the leadership of the party of the working class can significant reserves be tapped for the benefit of society and of every individual citizen. Not only the "economic links among the enterprises and branches and the territorial units are, objectively, becoming ever larger in number," but also "the requirements of political-ideological work call for ever closer collaboration among the people's representations, their deputies, the enterprises and the social organizations."<sup>3</sup>

One reason, for example, why we could achieve the good results in the "Herbert Warnke" VEB conversion technology combine in Erfurt was that the cooperation of the local people's representations with the industrial trade unions took place on the basis of joint measures decided on by the bezirk council and the FDGB bezirk committee toward the realization of the economic goals. Consequently, influence could be exerted, purposefully and effectively, by the managements, work collectives and trade union groups on the leadership of socialist competition, the realization of the science and technology tasks, the reducing of the state of sickness, the improvement in recreation and the working and living conditions, especially those of the shift workers. And that had positive effects on the work willingness of the working people in this combine. At the same time the level of cooperation in complex competition for coping with the extensive investment project went up.

It has also been found useful that the general director of the combine, he himself being a deputy of the bezirk legislature, regularly reports to the plenary session on the realization of the jointly elaborated measures, presenting insights and experiences that stimulate further state management decisions, for instance toward improving vocational training. The FDGB bezirk committee likewise has been consistently exploiting the competition initiatives and has been supporting trade union work by concrete measures. It has therefore become standard procedure in the work of the people's representations that no state decision that would significantly affect the working people will be made and enforced without a direct participation by the trade unions. In this close collaboration between the state power organs and the trade unions the working people are improving their abilities of managing the state and the economy in accordance with social requirements, and the leadership role of the working class is seen in action.

Further developing and perfecting socialist democracy is the main thrust in the development of socialist state power. That requires a still more effective contribution, through higher skills in their activities, by our people's representations, so that the manifold forms in which the citizens take part in the management of the state and the economy become more and more of a determinant of life under socialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
2. Ibid., p 42.
3. "Kommentar zum Gesetz ueber die oertlichen Volksvertretungen und ihre Organe in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" (Commentary on the Law on the Local People's Representations and Their Organs in the GDR), Staatsverlag publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 35.

## EAST GERMANY

### DEVELOPMENT AND AIMS OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE ANALYZED

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pp 1023-1031

[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Jarmatz, program director, department of Marxist-Leninist culture and art studies, SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences: "Participate by Narrating--On the Development of Our Prose Literature"]

[Text] Also for literature and art, the Ninth Party Congress posed far-reaching goals and tasks. Vast as the tasks are, the preconditions for coping with them that have been set in recent years through our party's cultural policy and through the work of our authors in the literary field are favorable indeed. The solidary relationship between the party and the writers, artistic responsibility for socialism and a more constructive function of literature in socialist society receive central attention in the author's analyses.

Also for literature and art our Ninth Party Congress has posed far-reaching goals and tasks which will call for much thought and great effort -- not last by literary science and literary criticism. Vast as the tasks are that are facing us, the preconditions for coping with them that have been set in recent years through our party's cultural policy and through the work of our authors in the literary field are favorable indeed. Especially epic literature has become more varied and diversified and attracted many new readers. Publishing houses were hard pressed satisfying the growing interest in GDR literature. The reader was offered a rich palette of rather diverse modes of presentation while the literature in the GDR was engaged in new artistic experiments toward revealing our socialist present and became more versatile in content and form.

What they held in common in their basic socialist positions expressed itself in the work of many authors -- such as Jurij Brezan, Guenter de Bruyn, Kurt David, Franz Fuehmann, Guenter Goerlich, Karl-Heinz Jakobs, Hermann Kant, Sarah Kirsch, Joachim Knappe, Wolfgang Mueller, Eberhard Panitz, Brigitte Reimann, Anna Seghers, Erwin Strittmatter, Alfred Wellm and Christa Wolf.



That list could be expanded ad libitum. The wealth and breadth, progressing more and more also in terms of literary originality, will make it ever more difficult to talk about in a brief survey.

Criteria for properly evaluating what has already been accomplished emerge wherever the pride in achievement combines with a view to configurations of problems that arise from the new and higher demands posed by the world revolutionary process. That also applies to literature, mainly socialist literature, which indeed is expected to involve itself in this process. The positive-constructive relationship between literature and socialism in the GDR, socialist patriotism, is as much part of it as is proletarian internationalism, the solidarity with the socialist community of states, the communist world movement and all fighters against imperialism. A characteristic feature of GDR literature is that the unity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism is ever more strongly being expressed in it. The writers in our country have always been deeply moved by the question as to how literature views the basic problems of human existence in our century. That caused many to write in the first place, to contribute their share to making life more secure. That is why the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress could say: "We state with pleasure: In the favorable climate created by the Eighth Party Congress, many new works matured in all the arts. More writers and artists came up with achievements that were imbued with the deepest ideas and sentiments of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and which help form and shape the moral countenance of the people in our society. Artistic forms are coming in a richer palette, and that is good."<sup>1</sup>

#### Trusted Collaboration Between Writers and Party

In our country the authors write, Anna Seghers said, so that there be peace everywhere. Certainly, Hermann Kant said quite properly, literature is accountable not only for the condition prevailing in the world "but even for whatever is being thought about that condition." Authors were well justified in demonstrating with pride how their literature has "stood up as a power tool of the people."<sup>2</sup> Time and again one could hear them confess -- at the writers congress, at peace congresses and in what they have written -- that their works were supporting the side of social progress. Our literature has been consistently tied up with our society's basic political concern. A political declaration does of course not exhaust the solidarity between literature and the revolution; that must mainly crystallize in the work itself. "Socialist art," as Anna Seghers concluded her remarks at the last writers congress, "opens the mind to peace and justice. That must reverberate from our work, however different our modes of presentation or the materials the artists select. Once that has become clear we may discuss whether one mode of presentation or another, one topic or another, helps society become what we want it to be."<sup>3</sup>

Above and beyond any party-bound commitment, the debate on the variety and breadth of literature is no longer of practical use, of meaning, to the socialist author. "Artistic responsibility in socialism can be understood

only as artistic responsibility for socialism."<sup>4</sup> This fundamental statement in the Ninth Party Congress report hits the very center in the discussions and deliberations of the artists in the GDR and will certainly lead to further considerations.

The ways and means in which literature can affect in its specific manner the advances in social development, in shaping a constructive relationship to socialist society, also enters as a reflection the work of art itself. Especially about these problems an intellectual interchange has developed which is very fruitful. The party's leadership style in cultural policy has been most definitely fostering it. The party has successfully paid attention to making new possibilities of socialism effective in art. The relationship of confidence between the prose authors and the party has solidified on that basis. Trust has developed, and authors and the party have developed trusting cooperation.

Without contest and debate over contradictions arising no literary development is possible. The adversary would like to make use of that for sowing discord between the authors and their state. To the anticommunist literary critics, who are horrified in recognizing the preeminence of socialism, the strength in the forces for peace and of social justice, the growing trust between authors and the party is a thorn in the side. Many different methods must do their bidding: along with objectivistic attempts at coping with the phenomenon of GDR literature, they are mightily resorting to crude anti-communism. Whatever the activities indulged in by the "GDR researchers," the anticommunist newspapermen and critics, this trusted cooperation which favors art is consolidating and becomes all the stronger precisely through the confrontation with imperialist ideology. That is why Comrade Erich Honecker could say in the Ninth Party Congress report: "Our art has matured in the struggle with all possible varieties of imperialist ideology. Against all attacks, it testified to, and strengthened, the historical and humanistic superiority of socialism. We are convinced our artists and writers will lead this combative tradition to new heights."<sup>5</sup>

#### On the Function of Literature in Our Society

How the public views the possibilities and specific use of literature is a subject many prose authors have dealt with in the recent past. Strittmatter discussed this problem in his volume of stories and in his "Wundertäter 2" (Miracle Worker 2). Franz Fühmann picked it up in his Hungary Diary. Fühmann asks that literature deal with all human problems, with the whole individual "with all his joy and happiness and tortures, his pain, delight, fears, yearnings, dreams and raptures."<sup>6</sup> He thereby follows Becher's clew who had made it his program to deal with everything that formed a value in human life. Fühmann is deliberately placing himself within the great realistic tradition of world literature.

Placing a still greater stress on that element in art that is associated with the people, Strittmatter likewise carries on the realistic line in the

tradition of our literature. He means to be a chronicler of the ways of his contemporaries and help them answer their vital questions. He advocates synthesis in literature so that contemporaries may gain an overall view and a holistic image of the world from it. He does not wish to instill unease in his readers but wants to give them confidence in being able to rule the world.

Strittmatter and Fuehmann do not through what they write lead literature into a strait jacket, nor do they reduce it to having merely a critical function. Fuehmann, in his diary, most emphatically argues against assigning literature the function of a physician at the sickbed of society. What he wants to do, instead, is to submit human experience in order to make evident what we have achieved in constructing our world, to explore what the human and historical alternative of socialism amounts to, and to help socialism in the unconstrained development of all its advantages.

That breadth in viewing contemporary socialist literature fully conforms to the basic principles of socialist realism. It conforms to the breadth of our socialist reality and provides literature with the possibilities it should have for becoming effective in politics, in the struggle against hostile ideologies, the forming of socialist ethics and the development of a socialist culture of sentiments.

This breadth conforms to an understanding for the various functions of literature which are entertaining and instructive, for valuation and instruction, for creating awareness and for solidifying socialist positions reached and for the critical-constructive function in opposition to all phenomena that would prevent us from making socialist fellowship effective, and for its function in releasing impulses and productively affecting social progress. Today, in the second half of the '70's, the constructive relationship literature has to society covers a broader scope than in the late '40's or early '50's. And thus the political importance of literature must not be confined to certain specific themes either. Yet it would also be nonsense to deny literary rank, from the outset, to all political literature properly speaking, like a political poem or song, or didactic forms of literature. To deal with everything in literature that is of importance in our life and for our life, that is as much a literary as a political task, as it were.

This is the background against which many a writer has, not last, been induced to give more thought to what contribution he could possibly make to socialist prose. The thought that literature always ties into specific, individual, unique and subjective contingencies is one that has made more of a showing. The importance of the author was discovered. He, Christa Wolf has said, is an important person who cannot choose just anything, any subject matter, at random. An author can truly create only something to which he has access through his own life's experience. Yet such experience should not only be individually of importance but socially as well. This special point made about artistic subjectivity, the recognition that an author is tied to his own experiences, ought not to lead us into subjectivism, away from realism. Without making an absolute of that point of view, without releasing it from its social context, it was a fruitful point for learning better to understand the specific possibilities literature has.

Life experiences that qualify for writing socialist prose are such in which one has successfully coped with living reality. They are gained through political struggle, in the confrontation with ideological and moral problems, in the study of reality, in gaining mastery over simple and complicated live situations, and they call for accurate theoretical knowledge. In this connection much can be learned from the "young" poet Stanislaus and the way of development on which Strittmatter is leading him in his "Wundertaeter 2." Stanislaus is eager to confront the public with what he has written and to follow along with certain literary fashions. Yet his master faun warns him repeatedly: "You must wait until you know something that is real!" Strittmatter leads his hero through the school of life, where he acquires a world-view that is not merely theory, while absorbing truly lived experience. This budding author lives with his class fellows and shares their efforts, triumphs and errors; he first learns to change the world in practical ways before he gains an idea of the changes in the world by means of literature. And his first realistic literary attempts are still connected most directly with such practical attempts at changing the world.

#### Exploration of Our Origin

Whether or not a socialist literature in its entirety can truly conform to the social expectations, that have become so much more demanding in many respects, that will depend not only on the breadth and variety demanded of narrative forms, and not only on the form given to certain subject matters, but it will mainly depend on the ability of literature to answer the vital questions of its contemporaries in terms of social progress. The shaping of a socialist-humanistic content of ideas and the development of the kind of narrative forms that will not only impress once but provide socialist impulses of lasting effect -- therein lies a key problem of literary progress and of realizing its socialist party-mindedness and closeness to the people.

Even if an author writes under prevailing social conditions, his developing a demanding socialist-humanistic content of ideas by no means follows automatically. Quite a number of artistic efforts are needed -- provided there is talent -- to form his narrative ability so that he will solicit constant socialist attitudes from us. Not only what is the specific nature of the belles-lettres, but also the demands raised by the struggle between capitalism and socialism, the demands of the developed socialist society, amounts to taxing criteria. There are quite a number of works standing up well to such criteria. That applies in particular to a whole number of novels and stories of considerable social range in subject matter and themes, which are embedding our life of today in a larger context of the history of mankind. Here our literature has made considerable advances in the direction of socialist realism. One may refer in this connection to books like Strittmatter's "Wundertaeter 2," his stories under the title of "Die blaue Nachtigall oder Der Anfang von etwas" (The Blue Nightingale or The Beginning of Something), Jurij Brezan's novel "Krabat oder die Verwandlung der Welt" (Krabat or the Change of the World), Anna Seghers' volume of stories entitled "Sonderbare Begegnungen" (Strange Encounters), Franz Fehrmann's diary "22 Tage oder die Haelfte des Lebens"

(Twenty Two Days or Half of Life), followed by the first part of his Prometheus novel recently, and Hermann Kants' "Impressum" and his recent volume of stories, or Brigitte Reimann's "Franziska Linkerhand." But also the internationalist content of our literature, the effort at coming closer to the life of other peoples, especially that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, enriches our experience with humanity. That is shown, for example, by Jakobs' travel novel "Tanja, Taschka und so weiter."

Experience with humanity is what authors introduce to our life today through formally diverse and original modes of narration. Anna Seghers, with her phantastic-utopian story "Sagen von Unirdischen" (Unearthly Sagas), makes us reflect on that humanity cannot exist without art. With her narrative "Der Treffpunkt" (The Rendez-Vous), she tells us of a basic situation from the antifascist struggle. With his four stories in the volume "Die blaue Nachtigall oder Der Anfang von etwas," Erwin Strittmatter wishes to bring back "the state of poetry and ease of childhood and of youth which seems so irretrievable."<sup>7</sup> Embedding the experience of humanity in today's experience -- this opens an extraordinary narrative range.

And who could use in a more sovereign manner the experience of his ancestors than a socialist contemporary? Many authors wish to explore what precisely this step amounted to, from the "prehistory of mankind" to socialism, for the individual and for society. That often also gave them a new view on the past, as for instance Kurt David with his short story "Die Ueberlebende" (The Survivor), which not only places new accents on the biography of antifascist resistance fighters but also documents a new achieved identification with the fighters against fascism.

Guenter Goerlich describes such a process of change in a simple and uncomplicated manner in his novel "Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land" (Homecoming to an Alien Country). This field continues the critical confrontation with the past and the self-critical exploration of a generation which had set in with works such as Anna Seghers' story "Der Mann und sein Name" (The Man and His Name), Strittmatter's "Wundertaeter 1," Fuehmann's "Fahrt nach Stalingrad" (Journey to Stalingrad), "Kameraden" (Comrades) and "Judenauto" (Car for Jews). Fuehmann in his diary once again asks himself how fascism could gain control over him and when the other thing, his human transformation into a socialist, got started. This generation's "process of maturation," as Christa Wolf has said, is gone more deeply into now than in the books of the early '60's; it is now being understood not as a turning point that took place once and for all but as a process extending into our very present.

Past and present appear in a new type of conjunction. That is reflected in Strittmatter's "Wundertaeter 2" as well as in Fuehmann's diary, and it brings out new self-critical questions. In the novel "Triptychon mit sieben Bruecken" (Triptych With Seven Bridges) by Max Walter Schulz, for example, Lea asks to what extent Rudi has actually got beyond attitudes stemming from a past epoch. A different juncture between past and present was found by Helga Schuetz in her story "Festbeleuchtung" (Festive Illumination). She shows a human attitude without defense against fascism, as being preserved in the FRG.

Dealing with the question about the starting point, the course and the goal of such a fundamental process of human transformation does of course not per se insure literary mastery. That is shown by Bastian's novel "Gewalt und Zaertlichkeit" (Violence and Tenderness). Bastian became sentimental. And then there is the desire for lofty generalizations in their effort at submitting the experience of humanity which has led some authors into some traditional poetic fables. On the other hand, some attempts at taking the old sagas as basis for such generalizations did succeed, for example that by Jurij Brezan with his Krabat novel, and even the use of Greek mythology -- for example the first volume of Franz Fuehmann's treatment of the Prometheus saga, which is projected as a three-volume work. Jurij Brezan used the old Sorbian folk saga and thereby fruitfully incorporated the treasure of experiences of the Sorbian people in contemporary literature. And even mythological materials of antiquity have proven their potential for expressing socialist-humanistic ideas and lending profound historical content to literature. Alfred Wellm with his book "Pugowitz oder Die silberne Schuesseluhr" (Pugowitz or the Silver Wind-up Clock) used another approach for important poetic generalizations. (It is noteworthy that this book as well as Fuehmann's Prometheus are children's books.) With this story about Mr Komarek and Young Heinrich, Wellm confronted events of 1945 directly. He has a direct way of talking about Heinrich and Mr Komarek while at the same time absorbing preshaped literary motives and basic situations. In this way, Wellm can establish a dialectical relationship between "reality" and literary images, through which the directly formed relations between Heinrich and Mr Komarek, Heinrich and the Soviet soldiers, Heinrich and Otwin, also embrace certain basic human situations. In the actions and thoughts of the "real" figures experience of humanity also is alive which points beyond the experience of the figures presented.

It will have become clear that truly new poetic provinces have been opened up in epic literature and that gains have been made in realism. That also applies to literary attempts that felt more strongly committed to the present but illuminated the present from the vantage point of similar historic dimensions. Here I would much like to stress two books in particular: Hermann Kants' "Impressum" and Brigitte Reimann's "Franziska Linkerhand." Hermann Kants' figure of David Groth, coming out of the working class, embodies the greater self-assurance of his generation, much affected by the socialist revolution and the forming of the GDR. Franziska Linkerhand, who removes herself from the bourgeois class and gets into a complicated process of confrontation with new, socialist ideas, now has to survive, with those ideals, in socialist reality. Her human maturation process did not end either with her break with her family and her class, nor did it end with her spiritual conquest of new ideals. In order to prevail she will have to cope with the new social reality including its own contradictions. Neither of these two books interprets the new field of relations between individual and society either through an individual self-realization or, what would be equally one-sided, through an absolute, abstract social claim, but both books bring into play, with great conviction, the dialectics between personality and social development.

## Creative Search for New Approaches to the Present

Many authors have made important attempts at describing the working class in socialist society from various narrative angles. That younger authors joined in the treatment of these sets of problems resulted in additional dynamics.

Some examples here shall call attention to problems encountered with the literary exploration of the socialist present. Among those who time and again deal with contemporary matters is Karl-Heinz Jakobs. He had spent a lot of time in a bulb factory collecting material. In the "Interviewers" he gave literary expression to it. He also combines his literary concern with criticizing the false expectations of what art should do. He strives for an objective inquiry of reality meant to become a creative process of understanding circumstances and men. He wants to capture men and circumstances in movement and in their contradictions. He remains rather sparse, however, in the presentation of his characters and concentrates more on the circumstances. In drawing the figure of the working woman Gisela Branner, however, he has presented an unalloyed image of a contemporary.

Other methods were tried by Sarah Kirsch with her cassette tape recording reports called "Die Pantherfrau." Sarah Kirsch would like to let authentic reality speak for itself and reinforce the factual nature of realism through documentary material. She has succeeded in illuminating by her portraits how under our social conditions woman has gained a position of respect in and through society. Here again the portrayal of a female worker is especially attractive who finds comfort in our society through her happiness in her work and in her family, because of it develops ever more demanding needs and thus develops her personality. It is astonishing how much power of conviction inheres in the authentic material and what emotional charm springs from the facts. The method of reconstructing biographies, "unkempt," as Sarah Kirsch emphasizes, surely is one way to come to grips with our new reality. Still, it will hardly be possible to prove that this kind of documentary literature is more "intensive and realistic" than the "conventional" manner of narration. Sarah Kirsch's procedure did lead to literature, which does not mean that all literature should have to use this kind of procedure.

What positive possibilities there are in the narrative mode for presenting persons "who make their first appearance in history," as Anna Seghers put it, so as to cope with our reality, is proven not only by such authors as Christa Wolf, Hermann Kant and Erwin Strittmatter, but also, in particular, by younger authors. That is demonstrated, for instance, by Wolfgang Mueller with his "Flussgeschichten" (River Stories) and by Helga Schubert with her miniatures "Lauter Leben" (All Life). Wolfgang Mueller in his river stories definitely aims at discoveries. He is concerned with people who might be ignored easily. There are skippers, whose life he is most familiar with, there is Stockerjule, who has been fighting in class struggles ever since World War I, there is Otto Scheidel, showing heroism and the willingness to take chances at his job, Neumann, floundering, a young man who finds new values while engaged in the

heavy physical work of a stoker. Mueller is bringing out the social milieu accurately, and there is something elevated to his figures throughout. Mueller commands a strong poetic language which helps give a historic and poetic dimension to ordinary events and persons.

Helga Schubert in many of her prose pieces presents episodes and anecdotes of everyday life. She turns out an acute observer of psychological processes. Such miniatures, to be sure, are also in danger of getting stuck in insignificance or of offering only more or less successful feuilleton. But in her best prose pieces, Helga Schubert goes beyond that, soliciting a confrontation with the world. Events that initially may have seemed insignificant become important to us because behind what is at the surface we come to see our contemporaries' truly vital problems. In such a manner then literature discovers sets of problems that would make a further and more deeply probing effort enticing. Presentations of small and smallest events of everyday life as offered by Helga Schubert have their own literary justification and are not sketches for the "grand theme." They at the same time also mark -- as do Sarah Kirsch's portraits -- important stages in the overall literary process, in the literary movement.

I have referred to authors little or not at all known 5 years ago several times. Within recent years a new generation has spoken up in literature more and more, bringing new experiences and new emphases to our literary life. Authors, publishers and editors do not always heed the advice given by the master faun in Strittmatter's "Wundertäter 2" to wait with going public until one knows something that is real. Nonetheless, the debut of a new generation that already grew up under socialism has been of benefit to the prose literature of recent years.

The tendency of coming to grips with the everyday of socialism and of penetrating the psychological motivation of the characters more deeply while doing so, making visible the problems of this everyday, can be discerned in the works by Helga Schubert, Helga Schuetz, Sarah Kirsch, Wolfgang Mueller, Peter Abraham, Jochen Hauser, Joachim Laabs, Jurek Becker, and Bernd Schirmer. It makes sense that in the works of these authors the attempt of precisely describing the individual with his ordinary characteristics is combined with the desire to describe the event and to find out how and whether young people in the process of growing up do find their place in socialism and accomplish their ideal of socialist personality development. At times such problems are presented in too one-sided and simple a manner, but some significant literary solutions also have emerged. That connected directly with the concern of authors who are more experienced to give information on what socialism means to the life of humanity. Here literature hit upon problems, especially with regard to the relationship between the individual and society, which were still partly hidden, sometimes only semiconscious, and not always successfully treated on the first attempt in terms of literary value and ideology.



What a variety of possibilities results from this in literary forms can only be hinted at here by citing some titles such as "Die Unrast der Karen W" (The Restlessness of Karen W) by Gerti Tetzner, "Bedenkzeit" (Time for Reflection) by Rolf Floss, or "Wo Moths wohnt" (Where Moths Live ) by Bernd Schirmer. Gerti Tetzner in this first book of hers has presented something written with much talent; original passages alternate with others that do not exactly indicate any story telling originality. The change in direction the heroine is seeking for her life remains vague. Many romantic notions of life and of finding total happiness are getting into it, and that blurs Gerti Tetzner's intention. The hero in the work by Rolf Floss has advanced in our state from being a worker to becoming plant director; he is slated to become party secretary in a large plant and is given time for reflection about it, which is used for exploring this character. Floss presents a figure in development; what is mainly important to him is to connect individual attitudes with the social working class origin. His hero could develop self-assurance, even critical acumen, because he had the work bench behind him. He develops a sense of his own worth. For the book by Rolf Floss it is of benefit that the vital problems of a young worker are placed in the center, so that this figure does absorb social experiences that are different from those in many books by other young authors who, in line with their own biographies, chose intellectuals as their heroes.

Bern Schirmer's volume of stories, "Wo Moths wohnt," deals with young intellectuals throughout. Yet the position taken by the story teller leads beyond what his characters can perceive. Here it is a matter of subjecting characters to tests: do they assume socialist attitudes, do they make something of themselves in those terms or do they merely drift? And Schirmer does present highly pointed situations and works with contrasting figures. No matter how much of a sharp point is given to these problem situations, however, Schirmer never turns his characters into victims of social conditions. He does show circumstances that may drag a person down, yet he always again also asks about the responsibility someone has for himself and for social progress.

These notes on some trends in our epic literature of recent years have confirmed the fruitfulness socialist social foundations have in the development of creative literature. In this, literature has been able, above all, to conquer positions that will lead farther in the articulation of new experiences of humanity. Such literary efforts go hand in hand with the attempt at exploring broadly our socialist present, especially the socialist everyday. What Anna Seghers said about earlier phases of GDR literature, that she presented human beings who were typical of any given period of our reality and thereby became a chronicler for characteristic events and human actions in our country, also applies to recent years.

Through self-assurance, albeit without self-satisfaction, our literature may gain from what has been achieved criteria for what still has to be achieved, and that applies not last to the critical demands made on the young literature which we cultivate particularly and watch attentively. The talents there must receive our most loving patronage. Mainly one will have to give deeper thought to the suggestions of the Ninth Party Congress pointing to a more profound spiritual penetration of phenomena from the class standpoint of the working class.

This calls for a high level of ideological-philosophic education as much as for the ability to trace individual and social processes multilayered and full of conflict as they may be. Today it also presupposes that the author has a part in the work, the thoughts and the sentiments of the people, in the aspirations of the builders of a new world.<sup>8</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 104.
2. Hermann Kant, "Our Words Affect the Class Conflict," "VII. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR" (Seventh GDR Writers Congress Proceedings), Berlin, 1974, pp 28-29.
3. Anna Seghers, "The Socialist Standpoint Reaches the Farthest," Ibid., p 23.
4. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 105.
5. Ibid.
6. "VII. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR," Proceedings (Working Teams), loc. cit., p 252.
7. Erwin Strittmatter, "Die blaue Nachtigall oder Der Anfang von etwas," Aufbau publishing house, Berlin and Weimar, 1972, p 139.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 106.

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## EAST GERMANY

### FACTS AND FIGURES ON GDR PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIONS

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 9, Sep 76 signed to press 9 Aug 76  
pp 1058-1060

[Text] The People's Chamber is the supreme power organ of the GDR and, at its plenary sessions, decides on the basic issues of state policy. The People's Chamber has 500 deputies chosen by the people for 5 years through a free, general, equal and secret election. (The following data refer to the sixth election period, 1971-1976.)

#### People's Chamber Deputies According to Mandates

|         | Number | Percent |
|---------|--------|---------|
| SED     | 127    | 25.4    |
| DBD     | 52     | 10.4    |
| NDPD    | 52     | 10.4    |
| CDU     | 52     | 10.4    |
| LDPD    | 52     | 10.4    |
| FDBG    | 68     | 13.6    |
| FDJ     | 40     | 8.0     |
| DFD     | 35     | 7.0     |
| Culture |        |         |
| League  | 22     | 4.4     |

#### People's Chamber Deputies According to Age-Groups

|             | Deputies | Percent |
|-------------|----------|---------|
| 21-25 years | 31       | 6.2     |
| 26-30 years | 30       | 6.0     |
| 31-40 years | 102      | 20.4    |
| 41-50 years | 214      | 42.8    |
| 51-60 years | 80       | 16.0    |
| above 60    | 43       | 8.6     |

Women make up 31.8 percent of all deputies of the People's Chamber.

During its sixth election period, the People's Chamber passed a total of 61 laws, among them such important ones as the Law on the Five-Year Plan for Economic Development, 1971-1975; the Law on the GDR-USSR Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance Treaty; the Youth Law; and the Civil Code.

In democratic popular discussions important draft laws were publicly discussed with the population. For example, 4,091 suggestions were received on the draft for the civil code, which led to 360 amendments or additions.

#### Committees of the People's Chamber

The People's Chamber forms committees. Their task is, in close cooperation with the voters, the discussion of draft laws and the constant control over the enforcement of the laws. They are the Foreign Affairs Committee; the National Defense Committee; the Constitutional and Legal Committee; the Committee for Industry, Construction and Transport; the Committee for Agriculture, Forestry and Foodstuffs Industry; the Committee for Trade and Supply; the Budget and Finance Committee; the Labor and Social Policy Committee; the Health Committee; the Committee for Public Education; the Committee for Culture; the Youth Committee; the Committee for Citizens' Petitions; the Business Management Committee; and the Mandate Testing Committee.

The local people's representations are organs of the socialist state power in the bezirks, kreises, towns, city districts and communities of the GDR. They implement, under the leadership of the party of the working class and on the basis of the laws and other legal regulations, and in close liaison with the working people and the social organizations, the state policy of the workers and farmers power of the GDR within their given territories.

A total of 193,735 deputies were elected in 7,908 local people's representations in the 14 November 1971 bezirk legislature elections and in the 19 May 1974 elections for the kreis legislatures, town assemblies, city district assemblies and communal assemblies.

The local people's representations break down as follows: 14 bezirk legislatures and the Great Berlin city assembly; 191 kreis legislatures; 28 town assemblies of the town kreises; 33 city district assemblies; and 7,642 communal assemblies and town assemblies of towns within kreises.

#### Volunteer Social Activities by the Citizens, Expressive of Their High-Level Political Activities

458,200 citizens, one-third of them women, work in 80,500 standing committees and aktivs of the local people's representations.

335,000 citizens, 103,000 women and 40,000 young people among them, work in 17,000 National Front committees.

50,200 citizens work as elected jurors in kreis and bezirk courts.

53,400 chosen citizens work on 5,124 arbitration commissions in communities, residential areas in towns and production cooperatives.

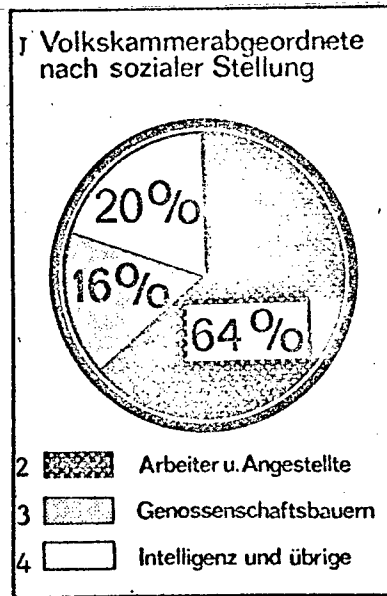
196,000 working people are members on commissions, committees and committees of the Workers and Farmers' Inspectorate.

676,900 mothers and fathers, on parents' advisory councils and parents aktivs, support educational work and teaching and studying activities at general education schools.

300,000 citizens work on retail trade organization advisory boards, sales outlet committees and guest advisory boards.

Deputies in local people's representations:

| People's representation   | Number of deputies | Of the deputies are (in percent): |             |       |                       |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------|-----------------------|
|   |                    | Workers and employees             | LPG members | Women | Below 26 years of age |
| Bezirk legislatures and Greater Berlin City Assembly (1971)     | 2,840              | 79                                | 13          | 36    | 13                    |
| Kreis legislatures and City kreis assemblies (1974)             | 20,763             | 81                                | 13          | 40    | 22                    |
| Communal assemblies and town assemblies of towns within kreises | 166,299            | 67                                | 28          | 33    | 14                    |
| Town district assemblies  | 3,833              | 93                                | 1           | 37    | 20                    |
| Local people's representations, total                           | 193,735            | 69                                | 25          | 33    | 15                    |



- Key:
1. Social Strata of People's Chamber Deputies
  2. Workers and salaried employees
  3. Cooperative farmers
  4. Intellectuals and others

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EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 9, Sep 76 signed to press 9 Aug 76, "For Documentation" addendum

The Significant Voice of Europe's Communists

[Summary of article by Bruno Mahlow, graduate political scientist, deputy department chief in SED Central Committee; pp 993-1002]

[Text] The great importance of the thus far most representative forum of the European communists is being dealt with in terms of the preparation and implementation of the Berlin Conference and its document. The conference, constituting an important landmark in international development, opened up -- while proceeding from a collective analysis of what had been accomplished in the process of detente -- new prospects for the struggle for peace and social progress in Europe and pointed the way toward its realization through joint solidary activities by the broadest democratic forces. It constitutes an important contribution to strengthening the influence and collaboration of the communists.

How Are the Decisions of the Ninth SED Congress Being Implemented in Agriculture and the Food Industry?

[Summary of interview with Gerhard Grueneberg, SED Politburo member and Central Committee agriculture secretary; pp 1003-1011. A translation of the full text of this interview will be published in a future JPRS report in this series.

[Text] In order to insure food supplies for the population and raw materials for industry, and to approximate living conditions in town and countryside, one must purposefully proceed toward industrialized large-scale production for

crop and animal products in specialized enterprises. The key for growth in agriculture also lies in a new quality of intensification. The further development of its material-technical base, the materialization of the inevitabilities of specialization, concentration and site distribution, and the democratic involvement of the working people, make high demands on managements and party organizations.

#### Main Directions of Further Perfection of Our Material-Technical Base During 1976-1980

[Summary of article by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of SED Politburo, chairman of State Planning Commission, deputy chairman of Council of Ministers; pp 1012-1022]

[Text] The further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is connected with perfecting the material-technical base through intensification. Pursuant to the directive for the Five-Year Plan 1976-1980, we are concentrating our efforts on the tasks posed by the Ninth Party Congress and summarized in several economic complexes. The foundation for that lies in the efficiency of our economic potential, the greater creativity of the working people and the deepening of the socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA countries.

#### The Interlacing of Capitalism's Current General and Cyclical Crises

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member of SED Central Committee, director of committee's Institute for Social Sciences; pp 1032-1042]

[Text] This is a treatment of the special kind of the interlacing between the general and cyclical crisis in which the thus far only cyclical factors are becoming permanent, further deepening the general crisis. The cyclical crisis no longer can fulfill its task of even temporarily resolving the contradictions in the capitalist economy. The margin monopoly capital used to have for surmounting the cyclical crisis in the thus far customary ways (e.g. through war or colonial exploitation) has been significantly reduced. All this is of great importance for the struggle by the working class and the other working people against monopoly capital.



## The Dilemma of Reformist and Conservative Sociopolitical Doctrines

[Summary of article by Dr Harry Klug and Dr Hans Leichtfuss, political researchers at SED Central Committee; pp 1043-1052]

[Text] The authors are taking issue with the basic contention in reformist and conservative theories of state to the effect that the imperialist state as it exists today could structure socioeconomic conditions in accordance with overall social interests. In, mainly, shoring up ideologically the increasing involvement of the state in the reproduction process of monopoly capital, therein lies -- in view of the increasing instability of monopoly rule -- the higher place value and class function of such doctrines, even if the two trends do disagree with each other about the forms and degree of that interlinking, about the risks their system of government incurs thereby and about the ways toward stabilization.

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CORRELATION OF DOMESTIC LAWS, INTERNATIONAL TREATIES

Bucharest REVISTA ROMANA DE DREPT in Romanian Aug 76 pp 17-20

[Article by Dr Victor Ducelescu: "Current Aspects of the Problem of Correlation Between Domestic Law and International Treaties"]

[Text] 1. The activity of improving the law and of the continuing adaptation of the law to the needs of social life requires that there be reflected in the norms and principles of law both the demands of domestic policies and those of our state's international policies.

Our country's increasing participation in international affairs and the conclusion of numerous treaties and other bilateral and multilateral documents regarding interstate relations present, therefore, on a technical-juridical level, a problem of close correlation between the provisions set down in these documents and the contents of domestic laws designed to establish obligatory juridical norms for our citizens and socialist organizations within the framework of our own legal system.

In general, the influence that international law has upon the process of elaborating the domestic legal norms of a state is a fact which today can no longer be contested by anyone. It is sufficient for us to think about the significance of common and conventional legal regulations which confer the privileges and immunities to diplomats and consular officials, the importance of adopting the documents which established human rights, and the criminalization on an international scale of certain international crimes, such as genocide, piracy, aircraft hijacking, racism, war propaganda, and so forth. This process has contributed in a significant way to the enrichment of domestic laws of states, to the crystallization of definitions of certain juridical concepts, and to the establishment of the characteristics of certain crimes representing an unusual social danger for all states and members of the international community.

The affirmation of certain juridical principles on an international legal scale, such as the sovereign equality of states, the right of permanent sovereignty over natural wealth and resources, the non-interference in domestic affairs, and so forth, has contributed, without a doubt, to strengthening and developing the law-making functions of states, the respect for the sovereignty and independence

of each country while also expressing respect for the laws adopted by these states, laws which represent the result of their own actions to elaborate certain juridical norms designed to ensure state sovereignty and the independence of all people and to give the best possible expression to the needs of their economic, political, and social development.

In this regard, it is significant, for example, that the new states formed in the wake of eliminating the colonial systems have elaborated in recent years numerous normative acts through which they regulate the use of natural wealth and resources in their own interest and in order to ensure their own development. Moreover, the conferring of this right in numerous international documents, including the provisions of "The Charter of Economic Rights and Obligations of States", has contributed, despite the unjustified reserve of a small group of states, to the affirmation of the juridical concept itself and to the even wider recognition of the idea that new states can and must, as participants with full and equal rights in international affairs, make a greater contribution to the affirmation of the new legal principles in international life with their national laws constituting--in this way of thinking--the most important element that must be taken into consideration in comparison with and appreciation for the juridical concepts with the same title as the existing regulations in the developed countries.

"Under all circumstances, one must begin from the truth that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and the same for all states regardless of their size and their social system and that it cannot be understood other than in a singular sense and in no way can it be applied or interpreted differently from one country to another,"<sup>1</sup> Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech presented at the Grand National Assembly.

The domestic laws of socialist states and countries freed from colonial domination have made and are making an active and permanent contribution to the definition of certain juridical concepts of international law. The reverse process, of the effect of domestic law upon international law, has appeared and is appearing in an especially visible manner in the most varied fields, such as the juridical policy of large territories, the policy regarding foreigners temporarily living or found on national territories, including the right to control and nationalize foreign companies, and in the substance of international criminal law where one can mention, in this regard, the special importance of making illegal, through certain provisions of domestic law, acts of apartheid, hostile propaganda, terrorism, aircraft hijacking, and so forth.

2. Given its complexity and its numerous implications for the legislative policies of states, the problem of achieving a balance between international law and domestic law has been and remains one of the most difficult and controversial problems that legal minds in various countries have ever had to resolve.

As is known, in the doctrine of international law, throughout time different concepts were elaborated which tried to offer a solution to this problem on the basis of one concept or another. As has been justly shown in Romanian legal literature, the "monist" concepts recognizing "the primacy of domestic

law" over international law or "the primacy of international law" over domestic law are equally wrong since "they are in total contradiction with the nature of international and domestic laws and with the fundamental principles of international law" and with their replacing "the balance of equality between international law and domestic law with a balance of subordination."<sup>2</sup>

For its part, "dualism," "even though it starts with the exact scientific premise that domestic law and international law form two distinct and different juridical categories, thus using a rational basis, pushes this logical construction too far, negating the reciprocal ties and influences between international law and domestic law."<sup>3</sup>

The specific interests of the states and the diversity of the types of international agreements contracted by countries in the framework of their collaboration in some of the most varied fields has currently brought into existence in the world a great diversity of practices and normative regulations concerning the correlation between domestic laws of states and international treaties. Sometimes, one and the same state has considered it possible "to apply directly in domestic law" certain international agreements and, in exchange, falling back upon other categories of international treaties in the technique of "receiving" or "transforming" them into domestic laws.<sup>4</sup>

In Romania, in order to avoid from the outset any problems on non-compatibility between treaties and domestic laws, in most cases prior to ratification, all necessary domestic measures are taken to adapt domestic legislation to the provisions of the treaty that is to be ratified or to which our country is to adhere, making express references, even in the statement of purposes of the decree for ratification (or adherence), that the provisions of the international treaty to which Romania is to become party are "in accord with domestic legislation" or that the participation of our country "is ensured from the point of view of our domestic legislation."<sup>5</sup>

In our opinion, such a practice corresponds as well as possible to the concept that the legislative function constitutes an attribute of the exercise of state sovereignty, and the adoption of certain legal provisions, directly obligating the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania, cannot be done except by the organ having the responsibility for legislation and that the modification, abrogation, or replacement of certain legal provisions cannot be accomplished by "the simple fact" of contracting certain international agreements, but only by way of an express act of the competent domestic organ.

The attitude of the sovereign and independent states towards the "reception" of international law--understanding this law in a broad sense to include not just treaties but, in general, other documents and the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly--gives expression, in our days and in many ways, to the concept regarding international law, the level of compatibility of these laws with the interests of the states, and the more or less correct reflection of their position about law in the existing norms and institutions of international law.

Referring to the position of the new states towards international law, the Hungarian author Hanna Bokor Szego found that "the aversion of the new states to certain parts of international law and their efforts to modify certain old common regulations are evident in the work of codification carried out by the United Nations Commission on International Law."<sup>6</sup>

It is natural, therefore, that the position of the states, especially the new states that have appeared in the international arena, towards transposing the provisions of certain international agreements into their domestic juridical system is as reserved as possible to the degree in which these countries do not see in some of the adopted international documents an exact reflection of their concepts regarding what international law should be and of their interests for the guarantee and firm respect of national sovereignty and independence, especially in the realm of economic relations.

At the present time, the strongest wish of the sovereign and independent states and of all progressive and peace-loving forces for the creation of a new world economic and political order offers, however, new elements of a nature that would produce a reconsideration of a state's position, especially of the new states, towards international law, conceived not as a body of regulations defending the interests of the developed states, but as a new international law, profoundly progressive, of the new order.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out during his visit to Brazil, "The creation of a new economic order also presupposes a new political order and new norms of international justice which determine higher principles, such as the respect of the rights of nations and people and the right of people to be masters of their own destiny and to organize their life in a manner corresponding to their own desires. Such a concept of international law will allow the opening of the path of fruitful cooperation among all people in all fields of activity."<sup>7</sup>

It is easy to understand that, by carrying out the process of redrawing international law on the basis of full respect of equality in law, of the interests of all states, of its continuing democratization and its adaptation to the demands to create a better and more just world, the faith of the states in international law will grow considerably and as a result so will the natural procedures to ensure the respect for these laws and translating them into action within the domestic juridical system will become more frequent.

There will no longer be talk of an international law that still contains imperfections and inequalities, discriminatory provisions, and privileges for certain states or groups of states, but of a corps of regulations which will effectively serve the process of introducing certain new interstate relations firmly based on the principles of law and equality and taking into consideration the legitimate interests of all people.<sup>8</sup>

As is shown in the Program of the Romanian Communist Party, concurrently with the improvement and adaptation of the existing principles of law, it is necessary to "adopt the new norms and principles of international relations corresponding to the demands of cooperation of people on the basis of full equality and mutual

respect, of ensuring the progress of each nation in accordance with its legitimate desires and aspirations, and of building a lasting peace on our planet."<sup>9</sup>

It appears evident that the new international law of the future, elaborated by consensus and reflecting the interests of all states, will no longer provoke the reserve or reticence of one state or another since it will reflect fully the interests of all states and will be a profoundly democratic international law in whose elaboration all countries of the world effectively take part. This will confer an increased level of obligation to its norms and principles with the building of a new world political and economic order being inconceivable without the strict respect of the principles of international relations, in whose definition all states will have participated. Along these lines, we can mention the special importance of our country's proposals, contained in the document "Romania's Position Regarding the Improvement and Democratization of United Nations' Activities and the Strengthening of Its Role in Achieving Collaboration Between All States, Without Regard to Social Order, for a Better and More Just World and a Lasting Peace" regarding "The Introduction in the Charter of Certain Provisions Which Make Resolutions Adopted by Consensus or Unanimously Voted Firm Commitments for All Member States."<sup>10</sup>

3. As for the concrete ways and methods through which treaties to which our country becomes party are to be applied, in Romania's domestic juridical system we believe that it is absolutely necessary, at this present stage, to elaborate a law which will establish in a practical manner what will be the guidelines of this process.<sup>11</sup>

In our opinion, keeping in mind the diverse character of the practices of various states, the peculiarities of the categories of political-juridical instruments for which there are problems of application, as well as the diversity of opinions expressed by Romanian specialists, the following distinctions would be necessary:

a) political-juridical documents which define the bases of Romanian foreign policies and the principles upon which our country carries out its relations with other states, concluded at the level of the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Keeping in mind that these documents reaffirm that the constitutional principles consistently promoted by our country have the character of certain guidelines for all Romanian diplomatic activities, one can appreciate that they orient the activity of state organs carrying out their activities in the field of foreign affairs even in the absence of an expressly ratified act. For such a political-juridical instrument, if it is presented in the form of a joint solemn declaration, the need for ratification does not appear certain. On the other hand, for friendship and cooperation treaties--although identical from the point of view of content--ratification by the Council of State is to be maintained, and, we believe, especially in consideration of the practices of partner states. An essential factor for this entire group of documents is, in our opinion, not just the technical-juridical aspect, but their conformity with the programmatic acts of our party's and state's foreign policy and with the general line promoted by Romania in the field of relations with other states.

b) treaties which, in an unequivocal manner, call for "the obligation to complete, adapt, or modify" certain provisions of domestic legislation in different fields or compartments, indicating at the same time expressly the directions in which these provisions must operate and for which their direct application can be conceived in the domestic juridical system and the abrogation of contradictory regulatory acts, with the condition that they be ratified by the Grand National Assembly--the sole legislative organ--and in the ratification law to specify precisely their direct application and abrogation (modification) of contrary provisions.

c) treaties which "would create only in principle the obligation to improve the legislative framework" and for which--since direct problems of application are not created--there is to be established later, by the competent organ, measures for the elaboration of appropriate regulatory acts within the framework of the process of improving legislation.

d) treaties that would apply on the basis of the ratification act "directly" in the domestic juridical system of the Romanian state without an item in the ratification act where there appears the necessary mentioning of this item in an express manner, since it does not seek the modification of certain regulations, but only the completion of the juridic framework.

In this sense, the treaties of juridical assistance, the Conventions of the International Labor Organization, can be quoted and the adherence or ratification of such instruments are preceded, in all cases, by carrying out certain studies of a nature to permit the ensuring of full accord of domestic legislation and the elimination of eventual discord.

e) treaties that would apply temporarily or in a derogatory manner to the provisions of domestic legislation which remain the general norm of regulating the juridical balance in the respective field (for example, extradition treaties).

f) in certain cases, there could be conceived the right to apply certain international understandings on the basis of "reciprocity"; likewise, there could be the application in the domestic juridical system of those treaties for which there have been "reservations" made, only in accord with the spirit and provisions of these reservations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech Presented at the Grand National Assembly Regarding the Great Achievements of the Romanian People in the 1971-1975 Five-Year Plan and the Foreign Policy of Romania Working for Peace and International Cooperation," 18 December 1975, Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 25.
2. Gr. Geamanu, "Contemporary International Law," vol I, Didactic and Pedagogical Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 111.

3. Ibidem, p 110.
4. For an analysis of state practices, see V. Duclescu and O. Crauciuc, "Some Considerations in Connection with the Application of Treaties in the Domestic Juridical System of the Socialist Republic of Romania," in THE ROMANIAN REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES No 2, 1973, pp 133-139.
5. Ibidem, pp 143-144.
6. H. Bokor-Szego, "The New States and International Law," in "Questions of International Law," Budapest, 1968, p 10.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, "A Mission of Peace and Collaboration," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 81.
8. In connection with the role of international law in a new order, see N. Ecobescu and V. Duculescu, "Considerations Regarding the Concept of the New World Economic and Political Order," (II), in THE SOCIAL FUTURE, No 3, 1975, pp 410-413.
9. "The Program of the Romanian Communist Party of Creating a Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Towards Communism," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 204.
10. "The Contribution of Romania to the Solution of the Great Problems of the Contemporary World," Politica Publishing House, Bucharest, 1975, p 55.
11. We emphasize, in this regard, the interest of the theoretical and practical conclusions that the Romanian specialists I. Nestor and N. Androne have arrived at in the study "The Juridical Conditions in which the Socialist Republic of Romania Can Be Engaged by International Treaty," from "The Legislation and Improvement of Social Relations" (under the editorship of Professor Doctor Docent Ioan Ceterchi), Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 1976, especially pp 286-291.

8724

CSO: 2700



LAW ON RECRUITMENT, ASSIGNMENT OF WORKERS APPROVED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Aug 76 p 3

[Draft of Law on the Recruiting and Assignment of the Work Force]

[Text] In the Romanian Socialist Republic, the right to work is guaranteed by the constitution, without any discrimination. Each citizen has, in accordance with the Labor Code, the right and the duty to perform an activity useful to society, which provides to him the means of subsistence and of spiritual development.

The state creates for all citizens the possibility of working in the material-production, scientific-technical or sociocultural field and aids their employment in production, in accordance with the desire, aptitudes and training of each one.

In view of the rapid development of the production forces, it is necessary to provide in an organized manner for recruiting, qualifying and assigning the work force for all sectors of activity, in relation to the needs of each county and of the national economy in its entirety.

At the same time, it is necessary to create conditions for catering to the citizens' desire to receive the help of the state bodies in their qualification and hiring.

In order to create the proper legal framework for recruiting and assigning the work force, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law.

Chapter I  
General Provisions

Article 1. In the Romanian Socialist Republic, the supplying of the work force necessary to the socialist units is done in accordance with the provisions of the sole national plan for economic and social development.

Article 2. In order to prepare the draft of the annual and long-term plan for supplying, training and improving the work force, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Education and Instruction, together with the ministries, the other central bodies, and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of the municipality of Bucharest, are obligated to establish:

- a) The balance of the work force in the national economy on the whole and according to counties;
- b) The labor resources and their structure and degree of employment;
- c) The prospective evolution of the work force in relation to the requirements for economic and social development;
- d) The correlation between the requirements for economic development and the sensible employment of labor resources according to counties and branches of the economy;
- e) The forms and the conditions for organization of the training and improvement of the work force.

Article 3. (1) The ministries, the other central bodies, and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of the municipality of Bucharest are obligated to take steps so that the subordinate socialist units supply the work force necessary to them by means of vocational schools, apprenticeship at the workplace, specialized secondary schools, and schools for postsecondary specialization and by means of assignment of the unemployed work force.

(2) In the case in which the necessary work force is not supplied from the graduates of the forms of education specified in paragraph 1, the socialist units will be able to organize qualification courses at the workplace.

## Chapter II

### The Recruiting and Assignment of the Work Force

Article 4. The work force necessary to the socialist units for the purpose of qualification, requalification or the execution of unskilled work is provided in accordance with the recruiting plan, a component part of the plan for supplying, training and improving the work force.

Article 5. (1) The recruiting of the work force is done by the socialist units on the basis of the permits issued by the Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare.

(2) The recruiting is done from the locality or county in which the socialist unit performs its activity. In exceptional cases, when the work force cannot be supplied from the respective county, the recruiting can also be done from other counties.

(3) The recruiting of persons who are members of agricultural production co-operatives is done only with the approval of the general assembly or management council, given in accordance with the law.

(4) The Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare is obligated to establish the localities that possess unemployed labor resources and to help the socialist units in the activity of recruiting the work force.

Article 6. (1) The hiring is done, at the request of the persons involved, directly by the socialist units, under the conditions of the Labor Code.

(2) Persons who are not employed under the conditions of paragraph 1 will be aided by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices, with a view to their appointment to work, taking into account the manpower requirements and the training, aptitudes and preferences of those in question.

Article 7. (1) With the help of the local state bodies, the Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare and its offices organize, in accordance with the law, the records of the unfilled workplaces and of the persons who are not employed and are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification.

(2) For this purpose, the persons fit for work who have reached the age of 16 years and are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification, or are not engaged in work in accordance with Article 6, are obligated to register at the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices in whose territorial range they have their residence and to request their assignment to work.

(3) In the case of young people between 16-18 years of age, the obligation specified in paragraph 2 also devolves upon the parents or legal representatives.

(4) The obligation specified in paragraphs 2 and 3 must be fulfilled within 30 days after the date of the appearance of the situation that leads to the necessity for appointment to work.

(5) In fulfilling the duties that devolve upon them, the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices will be aided by the bodies of the militia, which, in accordance with the law, keep the records of the population.

Article 8. (1) The Directorate for Labor Problems and Social Welfare and its offices have the obligation to follow the way in which the socialist units provide for the employment of the assigned persons.

(2) The socialist units are obligated to communicate to the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices the changes occurring in the manpower requirements.

Article 9. In order to employ persons who are to be released from places of detention or reeducation centers, the bodies of the Ministry of the Interior are obligated to communicate, before release, to the directorates for labor problems and social welfare in whose range the persons in question live the data regarding their personal situation and vocational qualification.

### Chapter III

#### The Assignment and Employment of Graduates of Secondary, Vocational and Technical Education

Article 10. (1) The assignment and employment of graduates of day classes at specialized secondary schools and at vocational schools, of apprenticeship at the workplace, and of schools for postsecondary specialization are done by the socialist units with which they concluded schooling contracts.

(2) The assignment and employment of the graduates specified in paragraph 1 who did not conclude schooling contracts are done, in the specialized units, by the central and local bodies in subordination to which the respective school units operate, within 30 days after the date of graduation.

Article 11. Graduates of secondary schools for the exact sciences and the humanities who do not continue their studies in a higher form of education, or were not employed in accordance with Article 6, will be assigned by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare or their offices to production, in order to obtain a vocational qualification, or to administrative positions for the filling of which the law specifies secondary studies.

Article 12. (1) The educational units are obligated to aid graduates of the first stage of secondary education, and of the secondary schools for the exact sciences and the humanities, who do not continue their studies in a higher form of education, with a view to their employment or the obtaining of a vocational qualification.

(2) For this purpose, the educational units will collaborate with the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices and with the managements of the socialist units in the respective localities.

Article 13. The assignment to production of graduates of institutions of higher learning, in day schooling, is done in accordance with the law.

### Chapter IV

#### Sanctions

Article 14. The violation of the provisions specified in Article 5, paragraph 1, and Article 8, paragraph 2, by those who have such official duties, within the socialist units, constitutes a contravention, if the acts are not committed under such conditions that, according to law, they are considered infractions, and is punishable with a fine from 300 to 3,000 lei.

Article 15. The nonfulfillment by physical persons of the obligations that devolve upon them in accordance with the provisions specified in Article 7, paragraphs 2, 3 and 4, constitutes a contravention and is punishable with a fine from 200 to 2,000 lei.

Article 16. The ascertainment of the contraventions specified in articles 14 and 15, the applications of the sanctions, and the exercising of the lines of attack are done under the conditions specified by the legal norms concerning the establishment and sanctioning of contraventions in the field of labor and social welfare.

Article 17. The provisions of Law No 32/1968 on the establishment and sanctioning of contraventions are also applicable to the contraventions specified in the present law.

#### Chapter V Final Provisions

Article 18. The hiring under the conditions of the present law is done by the socialist units within the limits of the approved number and structure of personnel.

Article 19. The Ministry of Labor and the directorates for labor problems and social welfare provide the guidance of the socialist units and the control of the application of the provisions of the present law, in accordance with the powers that devolve upon them in conformity with the law.

Article 20. Decision No 4457/1953 of the Council of Ministers on the organized recruiting and assignment of trained workers and technical and administrative personnel, Decision No 371/1955 of the Council of Ministers on the organized recruiting and assignment of unskilled labor, Decision No 728/1956 of the Council of Ministers on the employment of seasonal agricultural workers on state farms, Decision No 1051/1962 of the Council of Ministers on the assignment to work of persons released from places of detention, Article 8, letters a, b and c, of Decision No 2494/1969 of the Council of Ministers on the establishment and sanctioning of contraventions in the field of labor and social welfare, Decision No 947/1970 of the Council of Ministers on the assignment and employment of graduates of day schooling of industrial, agricultural, silvicultural, economic and health secondary schools, and any other contrary provisions are repealed on the date that the present law goes into effect.

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LAW ON COURT ASSIGNMENT OF JOBS APPROVED

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Aug 76 p 3

[Draft of Law on the Employment in a Useful Activity of Persons Fit for Work]

[Text] In the Romanian Socialist Republic, work is a duty of honor, an obligation of each citizen.

In our society, no one can live without work. The evasion of work, a parasitic life, and the achievement of earnings by other means than by means of one's own labor contravene the principles of ethics and equity and are incompatible with the nature and goals of the socialist order.

The labor of each person represents the basic criterion for judging his conduct and his contribution to the progress of society, and a necessity for the multilateral affirmation and development of the human personality.

In order to provide for the integration into an activity useful to society of all persons fit for work who are not employed in production, the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian Socialist Republic adopts the present law:

Article 1. (1) Each citizen of the Romanian Socialist Republic has, in accordance with the constitution, the right and the duty to perform a useful activity for society.

(2) The state provides to each citizen the possibility of performing, in accordance with his training, an activity in the economic, sociocultural or administrative field.

Article 2. The hiring is done, at the request of the persons involved, directly by the socialist units or by means of assignment by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and their offices, under the conditions specified by the Labor Code.

Article 3. (1) A person fit for work who has reached the age of 16 years and is not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification or is not

engaged in work is obligated to register at the directorate for labor problems and social welfare or at its offices, in whose territorial range he has his residence, and to request assignment to work.

(2) Artisans with their own shops and professionals who perform activities authorized by law do not have the obligation specified in paragraph 1.

(3) Women who take care of their children or perform a domestic activity, in their own household, also do not have this obligation.

Article 4. The provision of support by parents or other breadwinners cannot constitute grounds for nonfulfillment by persons fit for work of the duty to perform a useful activity for society.

Article 5. (1) The records of the persons who are not attending a form of education or of vocational qualification and are not engaged in work are organized by the directorates for labor problems and social welfare and by its offices with the help of the militia's bodies and the other local state bodies.

(2) The bodies specified in paragraph 1 are obligated to provide for the assignment of these persons to production or for qualification, on construction sites, in agricultural or forestry units or in other economic units, taking into account their training and aptitudes and the manpower requirements of the socialist units.

Article 6. (1) The work-assignment order is mandatory.

(2) The assigned person has the duty to immediately appear at the socialist unit, specified in the assignment order, for appointment to work.

(3) The socialist unit is obligated to provide for the appointment to work, according to law, of the assigned person.

Article 7. (1) A person who systematically refuses, without well-founded reasons, to engage in work, leading a parasitic life, will be discussed by the citizens' assembly of the village, commune or district in which he lives, in order to influence and cause him to engage in work or a form of vocational training.

(2) The discussion by the citizens' assembly is held at the proposal of the directorate for labor problems and social welfare.

Article 8. (1) In the case in which, despite the help given, the person in question refuses to engage in work or a form of vocational training, continuing to lead a parasitic life, he will be obligated, by means of a judicial decision, to perform work for 1 year, on construction sites, in agricultural or forestry units or in other economic units.

(2) The persons specified in paragraph 1 who have reached the age of 18 years will be obligated to perform work or attend a form of vocational training in labor and reeducation centers.

Article 9. (1) The notification of the court is done by the directorate for labor problems and social welfare, which will also propose the unit where the respective person is to perform the work.

(2) The court will deal with the case within 10 days after notification, in a panel composed of 1 judge and 2 people's assessors, representatives of the trade-union and youth organizations.

(3) At the trying of the case, the presence of the representative of the directorate for labor problems and social welfare is mandatory.

(4) The decision of the court is final and executory.

Article 10. In case of noncompliance with the decision of the court, the implementation of it is done by the local state bodies, which will provide for the guidance, supervision and continual presence at the workplace of the persons in question.

Article 11. (1) A person appointed to work under the conditions of the present law has all the rights and obligations specified in labor legislation.

(2) A change in workplace by the persons appointed in accordance with Article 8, before the expiration of 1 year after the date of appointment, can be made only at the proposal of the socialist unit, with the agreement of the directorate for labor problems and social welfare, which will take into account the qualification obtained and the applicant's conduct and attitude toward work.

Article 12. The labor and reeducation centers are organized and operate in subordination to the Ministry of Labor.

The Ministry of Labor, together with the Ministry of Justice, provides the guidance and supervision of the activity of the labor and reeducation centers.

Article 13. The working people's councils and the trade-union and youth organizations of the socialist units have the obligation to provide for the qualification and the integration into work staffs of the appointed persons and to perform a continual educative activity, with a view to their reeducation, the forming of a new attitude toward work, and the respecting of the principles of socialist ethics and equity.



ROMANIA

DECREE ON DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL AVIATION AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 85, 25 Sep 76 pp 1, 2

[Council of State Decree Amending Council of State Decree No 84/1976 on the Establishment, Organization and Operation of the Department of Civil Aviation, and of Some Units Subordinate to This Department and Decree No 444/1976 on the Organization and Operation of the Ministry of National Defense]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--Council of State Decree No 84/1976 on the establishment, organization and operation of the Department of Civil Aviation and of some units subordinate to this department is amended as follows:

1. Article 1 is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 1--The Department of Civil Aviation is a central organ of state administration subordinate to the Council of Ministers and implements the policy of the party and state in the field of civil aviation. Its activity is coordinated by a deputy prime minister of the government.

The Department of Civil Aviation is the sole organ of authority for civil aeronautics in the Socialist Republic of Romania."

2. Article 4 is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 4--The Department of Civil Aviation is headed by a management council which makes decisions on general matters concerning the activity of the department; the collective leadership of the operational activity of the department and the ensuring of the implementation of the resolutions of the management council are carried out by the executive bureau.

The management council of the department and the executive bureau, organs of a deliberative nature, are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the management of the ministries and of the other control organs of state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

The Department of Civil Aviation has in its leadership a head of the department, who has the rank of deputy minister and is appointed by presidential decree.

The head of the department is also the commander of civil aviation. In this capacity he is assisted by a first deputy commander and deputy commanders of civil aviation, who are appointed by the Council of Ministers."

3. Article 16<sup>1</sup>, with following content, is inserted after Article 16:

"Article 16<sup>1</sup>--The Ministry of National Defense will provide medical care and periodic medical examinations for the navigational personnel in civil aviation."

4. Article 20 is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 20--The designations of Ministry of National Defense or Civil Aviation Command-TAROM in the normative acts in force, which refer to civil aviation activity, are replaced by the designation Department of Civil Aviation."

Article II--Decree No 444/1972 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of National Defense, which became Law No 77/1972, with subsequent modifications, is amended as follows:

1. Article 17 is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 17--The ministry has in its leadership a minister, a first deputy minister, and five deputy ministers.

The first deputy minister and the deputy ministers are appointed by presidential decree and their functions are determined by the management council of the ministry."

2. The provisions stipulated in Article 4, letter r) and point 14, "The Department of Civil Aviation," in the annex provided for in Article 20 are abrogated.

Article III--(1) For 1976, the indicators on which the granting of remuneration to personnel in the central administration of the Department of Civil Aviation is based are those provided for in the annex \*) to the present decree.

(2) The Department of Civil Aviation will take over the indicators set for it in the framework of the approved figures of the Ministry of National Defense and the annexes to Council of State Decree No 154/1975 on the distribution according to plan holders of the indicators of the single national plan and the state budget for 1976.

\*) The annex is transmitted to the institutions concerned.

Article IV--Council of State Decree No 84/1976 on the establishment, organization, and operation of the Department of Civil Aviation and of some units subordinate to this department is republished with new numbers being given to the articles.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 23 September 1976

No 331

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

RESOLUTION ON MATERIAL INCENTIVES FOR STUDENTS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 17 Jun 76 pp 2-3

[Excerpts] On the basis of article 16 paragraph 2 of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976 with respect to the establishment, organization, and operation of the production, research, design, and service units for the integration of higher education with production and scientific research.

The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:

Sole article--The methodological standards with respect to giving an incentive to students for the results obtained in the activity of integrating higher education with production and scientific research are approved.

The Council of Ministers  
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister

Manea Manescu

Bucharest, 7 June 1976

No. 238

Methodological Standards

with respect to giving an incentive to students for the results obtained in the activity of integrating higher education with production and scientific research, drawn up for the application of the provisions of article 11 paragraph 1 of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976 with respect to the establishment, organization, and operation of the production, research, design, and service units for the integration of higher education with production and scientific research.

1. For the results obtained in the integration activities carried out in the units stipulated in article 2 of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976 or in the other units in which productive activity is carried out, students can be given an incentive of up to 20 percent of the manual labor achieved.

2. The incentive fund is constituted, at the institution of higher learning, of 20 percent of the calculated value of the manual labor carried out by the students, transferred to the institutions of higher education by the units stipulated in article 2 parts a) and b) and article 9 paragraph 1 of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976, and of 20 percent of the calculated value of the manual labor actually carried out by the students and stipulated in the work estimates contracted or ordered by the units in article 2 part c) of the same decree.

3. The entire value of the manual labor carried out by the students, by contract, corresponding to the work accomplished, or under state supervision in accordance with the tariff category established or the job carried out, as well as the amounts due for the work carried out by the teaching personnel in the units stipulated in article 2 parts a) and b) and article 9 paragraph 1, are transferred monthly to the institutions of higher education. The value of the manual labor carried out by the students and teaching personnel affects, accordingly, the number of personnel and the remuneration fund planned by the units in question. The order for the transfer of the equivalent value of the manual labor will be approved by the banking agencies in control of the remuneration fund and will have attached the list of names with manual labor carried out and the incentive which is to be paid to each student, determined by the leader of the work squad and teaching staff that has directed the activity of the students in question. The incentives granted to the students from the amounts received from these units do not affect the remuneration fund and the average number of personnel of the institution of higher education.

4. In the units formed on the basis of the provisions of article 2 part c) of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976, the appropriate incentives are granted to the students for the work accomplished, on the basis of contracts or orders, within the limits of the remuneration fund planned for this purpose, by the institution of higher education.

5. The incentive which is to be paid to each student for the manual labor carried out within the units stipulated in article 2 part c) of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976 is determined, on the departmental level, by the teaching staff that has directed the activity of integration and by the leader of the work squad.

6. The incentive which is granted to a student will not be permitted to exceed 20 percent of the value of the manual labor carried out by the latter.

7. The payment of the appropriate incentives to the students is made by the institution of higher education according to the receipts from the manual labor carried out for production achieved by the students and is approved by the rector or pro-rector who is the chief credit accountant.

8. The amounts received by the students as incentives for integration activity do not affect scholarship eligibility, are not counted in determining eligibility for the state allowance for children, and are exempt from income tax.

9. The present methodological standards are applied accordingly to agricultural education students also.

10. In accordance with the provisions of article 19 of Council of State Decree No. 14/1976, the present methodological standards are of an experimental nature for the 1975/1976 and 1976/1977 university years. During this period, the Ministry of Education and Instruction, the Ministry of Labor and the Ministry of Finance can solve, with respect to the legal provisions in effect, the actual cases that have emerged in the application of the present methodological standards.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

FOOD ALLOCATIONS FOR STUDENTS INCREASED BY DECREE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 80, 31 Aug 76 pp 1-2

[Decree of the Council of State with regard to increasing the daily food allowances in the institutions of instruction and education]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The daily food allowances for children in child-care institutions, for scholarship students, as well as for non-scholarship students for the duration of the practical training stipulated in the curriculum, are established as follows:

- a) Homes for pre-school children (children supported by the state) 11.50 lei
- b) Homes for school-age children (children supported by the state) 14.00 lei
- c) General schools and special general schools for the handicapped 13.00 lei
- d) Vocational schools and instruction at the place of work, including special vocational schools for the handicapped 14.00 lei
- e) Schools for rehabilitation and receiving centers 13.50 lei
- f) Vocational schools for difficult skills (for the period of practical training) 14.50 lei
- g) High school instruction:
  - industrial, agro-industrial, and forestry high schools, including special high schools for the handicapped 14.00 lei
  - high schools for the exact sciences, and classical, economic, pedagogical, medical, and art high schools 13.00 lei

- h) Vocational schools, industrial high schools, and schools for post-high school specialization for trades and special areas connected with mining (for the period of practical training underground) 16.00 lei
- i) Special schools for sick students with stabilized cases of tuberculosis 16.00 lei
- j) Schools for post-high school specialization (including those for the handicapped) 14.00 lei
- k) Schools for post-high school specialization (only for the students who are undergoing practical training in locations in which they cannot be guaranteed meals at the canteen) 16.00 lei
- l) Residence-schools for handicapped children over seven years of age and residence-workshops for young people over 16 years of age 13.00 lei
- m) Student competitions (in trades, educational and cultural-artistic subjects) at the county, zone, and final stages, as well as during the period of preparation for participants in the international Olympic games 14.00 lei

Article 2--The increases of food allowances stipulated in article 1 are spread out as follows:

- a) 1 September 1976, to the homes for preschool and school-age children;
- b) 15 September 1976, to vocational instruction, industrial, agro-industrial, and forestry high schools, special instruction for the handicapped;
- c) 1 January 1977, to general education, the other kinds of high schools, schools for post-high school specialization;
- d) 15 September 1977, to the other institutes for education and child-care, as well as for the activities connected with the educational process.

Article 3--The financial contribution resulting from the application of the provisions of the present decree will be covered, in 1976, as follows:

- a) in the ministries, the other central organs, and the people's councils in the counties and in Bucharest Municipality, through the transfer of credits approved by the administrators of the plan from the funds provided for administrative-management needs in any chapter of the budgetary classification in proportion to at least 50 percent of the amount. In order to make up the difference for the amount that cannot be supplied in this way, the Ministry of Finance is authorized to supplement the expense plans of the ministries and other central organs and the budgets of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, from the reserve budgetary fund which is at the



disposal of the Council of Ministers, on the basis of the claims justified by the administrators of the plan;

b) in the economic units, through a corresponding reduction of administrative-management expenses.

Article 4--The corresponding provisions included in Council of Ministers Resolution No. 822/1970 with respect to the daily food allowances for budgetary operations and the collective expenditures of the special sector, with the subsequent modifications, as well as any other contrary provisions, are abrogated as of the dates stipulated in article 2 of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu  
President of  
the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 26 August 1976

No. 269

CSO: 2700

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